Cain and Abel

MALIGNITY,

That is

Enmity to Serious Godliness,

That is,

To an Holy and Heavenly State of Heart and Life:

Lamented, Described, Detected, and unanswerably proved, to be the Devilish Nature, and the *Militia* of the Devil against God, and Christ, and the Church and Kingdoms, and the surest sign of a state of damnation.

By *Richard Baxter*, or *Gildas Salvianus*,

Who earnestly beseecheth all Enemies, Scorners, Opposers and Persecutors of serious Obedience to God, not to refuse so small a matter as the Reading this short undeniable Evidence, to save their Souls, while yet there is hope, from so damnable a state of Sin and Diabolism. Especially Magistrates and Clergy-men, who are Sacrilegious and Blasphemous, if in the name of Christ's Ministers, they turn those Sacred Offices against him.

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READER,

THIS *reprehenſive Lamentation of* Engliſh Malignity, *or hatred, and ſcorn, and perſecution of* ſerious Godlineſs, *by them who profeſs to believe in God, and to be Chriſtians, was written in priſon (but without any provoking ſenſe of my ſuffering) in* Anno 1685. *or* 1686. *And by one that was not wholly ignorant, how much of the Papiſts counſel and power, was cauſal in our change ſince the return of* K. Ch. 2. 1660. *And therefore it grateth ſo much upon the Papiſts, though they were profeſſed Proteſtants who were the open Agents.*

It was written by one who can remember, at leaſt ſince 1627. *that the ſerious practice of Godlineſs was the common ſcorn of the vulgar rabble; and he that did but read the Scripture, and Books of Piety, and pray in his family, and catechize Children or Servants, or hear a Sermon at the next Pa-*

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riſh Church from a Godly Conformiſt, when he had none at home; yea that did but ſeriouſly talk of Chriſt or Scripture, or the Life to come, or preparation for Death and Judgment, went under the name of a Puritane, which was a reproach in the mouth of drunkards, ſwearers, fornicators, and all the ſenſual, worldly ſort, both high and low. And that Conformable Miniſters (yea and Gentlemen) that were but ſeriouſly Religious, no more ſcap't this ſcorn than Nonconformiſts (who were then ſo few, that they were in moſt places unknown.) He ſadly remembreth how greatly this malignant rabble triumphed in the Biſhops Viſitation Articles, and in the Preaching and Talk of many Prieſts, who ſharpened their Sermons with Invectives againſt Puritans as dangerous Hypocrites, though they had not a Nonconformiſt within many miles. He heard the Godly Conformable Miniſters lament, that the Biſhops and Eccleſiaſtical Courts by their jealouſie and heat againſt the Nonconformable Puritans, became the ſtrength and encouragement of this malignant vitious rabble; and that the young worldly Miniſters took it for the way to preferment,

preferment, to Preach againſt Puritans, while they treated the multitude of Prophane prayerleſs families that had no ſavour of ſerious Religion, as their good and peaceable Flocks. He lived to ſee the Godly Learned Conformiſts, ſo grieved for this, that they long'd for a Reformation; and many Conformiſts (as Biſhop Robert Abbot, *Biſhop* Downame, *& divers others publiſhed their Reproof and Lamentation for it: And good* Robert Bolton (*in his* Directions for walking with God) *thinks that ſince Malice entred into the heart of man, there was never a word toſſed with more Malice in the mouths of drunkards and prophane men, than the word* [*Puritan.*] *Hundreds and thouſands of theſe wicked ſcorners of Religion, were either admitted (or driven) to the Sacrament, or lived quietly in great Pariſhes while they deſpiſed it, while theſe poor Puritans were ſtrictly hunted after! And if they faſted and prayed with a dying or ſick friend, without getting a Licenſe for it from the Biſhop, the Church-warden muſt enter them into their Inquiſition, or be forſworn.*

Theſe Puritans having the greateſt

averſeneſs to Popery, in ſome things were too ſuſpicious of all that they thought ſmell'd of it: And when they heard that in Ireland the Papiſts had moſt barbarouſly murdered the Proteſtants (two hundred thouſand) and that they boaſted that they roſe by the King's Commiſſion, and threatned to invade England, and that the Engliſh Papiſts were againſt the Parliament; this made them think that the Proteſtant Religion was not ſafe, but in the Parliaments part and care: Upon which the next year when our odious Civil War began, many of them went into the Parliaments Armies: But the generality would fain have lived quietly at home, but the debauched rabble and their Patrons would not ſuffer them: But they turned the name Puritan into [Roundhead] and [Down with the Roundheads,] was the common Cry. I have my ſelf by that Cry been in preſent danger, in paſſing through a City where no man knew me, becauſe I wore not long Hair. If their Neighbours did but pray, and ſing a Pſalm in their houſes, the rabble would (like the Sodomites at the door of Lot) ſet up a Cry againſt them in the ſtreets,

ſtreets, and ſay, [Down with the Roundheads] *the* Rebels, *a* Gowry, *a* Conſpiracy, *&c.*] *Even where I lived they aſſembled with weapons, and ſought my life, and knockt down (mortally by the iſſue) even ſtrangers in the ſtreets that medled not with them, becauſe they were accounted friends to the Puritans. By this means the Parliaments Garriſons and Armies were fill'd with Religious men, that were forced to flie from their houſes by the malignant, ignorant drunkards, to ſave their lives: And this, even this was the ruine of* K. Charles, *and his Army, and of the perſecuting Biſhops and Clergy. Neceſſity made thouſands to be Souldiers that could not live at home: And moſt were moved by an Argument, that was not cogent, ſtill ſaying,* [We cannot believe that God would ſuffer the generality of the moſt Religious to chuſe the wrong ſide, and the generality of the Papiſts and ignorant drunkards and malignants to be in the right.]

O what ſhame and pity is it that the Antipuritan Clergy no better remembred from 1660. *till now, by what means they*

fell; and that they no more underſtood, nor yet underſtand, what a torrent of ſin, of danger, and of ſhame, is come upon them, by their ſtrengthning themſelves by ſheltring (to ſay no worſe) the ſenſual irreligious malignant rabble (Rich and Poor) that they may tread down the Puritans, that by their own doings are brought into a diſlike of them. Will God ever bleſs a prophane rabble (or Gentry) to be the honour and ſtrength of the Church, againſt the Religious that deſire a Reformation?

It is not their new fooliſh names and ſcorns, (as Whigs, Trimmers, Presbyterians, &c.) *that will prove that it is not ſerious Piety that they hate: As long as the moſt filthy wicked livers are the Enemies and Accuſers, and in their own Party and Companions, the vileſt debauchery paſſeth for ſufferable, and a ſmall diſgrace, and thouſands of ſuch live at eaſe, when preaching the Goſpel, and praying without their Fetters or Book, muſt coſt men ruine, and impriſonment, and ſcorn. And* Sulpitius Severus *his ſharp Invective againſt* Ithacius, Idacius, *and the reſt of the Biſhops in their Synod was, that*

that in profecuting the Priſcillian *Gnoſticks, they brought the matter to that paſs, that if Godly men did but faſt, and pray, and read Scripture, the Biſhops made them ſuſpected as Priſcillianiſts (even St.* Martin *himſelf.) Woe to them that turn the ſacred Offices of Magiſtracy and Miniſtry againſt God that did ordain them, to be uſed as in his name, and in ſome repreſentation of himſelf, ſacrilegiouſly blaſpheming him as an Enemy to himſelf. Shall the Throne of Iniquity have fellowſhip with God, that frameth miſchief by a Law, to make ſin common and allowed?*

By this the Reader may ſee that there is a double Hiſtory needful to the full underſtanding of this Book; and of the nature and cauſes of Malignity; *that is,* 1. *The Hiſtory of* Adam's *fall, and the great depravation of humane nature thence ariſing; and the true meaning of the Enmity thence put between the Womans and the Serpents ſeed, exemplified in the two firſt Brothers born into the world; as alſo in* Iſhmael *and* Iſaac, Eſau *and* Jacob; *and frequently mentioned by Chriſt and his Apoſtles.*

2. *The Hiſtory of the advantages that*

Malignity

Malignity hath got in England *ſince the Reformation; and eſpecially ſince the return of* Charles *the ſecond. This muſt contain the ſad differences begun at* Frankford *in Q.* Marys *days; the errours and extreams of both the differing Parties; the byaſſing determinations of Q.* Elizabeth; *the difference between the firſt Biſhops that had been exiles, and their Succeſſors; the Presbyterians provocations by over-oppoſing Epiſcopacy, and the Biſhops deſign to root them out; and the making of the Canons to that end: The riſe of a new ſort of Biſhops, begun in* Laud, Neile, Howſon, Corbet *and* Buckeridge, *with* Mountague, *and their growth under* Buckingham *againſt the old Churchmen: The deſign of a Coalition with* Rome, *and the French and Engliſh attempts thereto: The interruption of this deſign by the firſt Long Parliament, and the Wars: The Scots forcing the Parliament (that in their ſtraits asked their help) to take their Covenant: The impoſing that Covenant on the whole Miniſtry, and making it a dividing Engine on pretence of Unity. The Parliaments caſting out (with a multitude of flagitious Miniſters) ſome Doctors,*

Doctors, for being againſt them, for the King, contrary to the deſires of Peace-makers: The Presbyterians under Monk *reſtoring King* Charles *the ſecond: The return and preferment of his Doctors, and their revengeful reſolutions: Their deſign to get all Church-power and Preferment, and Academick Rule into the hands of them that moſt hated Puritans, or would endeavour their extirpation, and would educate Youth in bitter prejudice and hatred of them: The vulgar hatred of ſerious Godlineſs in Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts, under the name of Puritans: The power that a few returned Doctors had with the King and Chancellor in the diſpoſe of Preferments, and thereby to over-rule the Parliament, and to procure the Acts of Uniformity, Corporation Oaths, Veſtry and Militia Oaths, and the Acts for Baniſhments, Confinements, Impriſonments, Fining, Ejecting, Silencing and Ruining ſuch whoſe Conſciences pleaded Gods Law and Authority againſt any of their Oaths, Impoſitions, and ſilencing Prohibitions to preach the Goſpel: The great difference in the Wars (I meddle not with the Cauſe) between the Adherents and Souldiers of the*

K. (Ch. I.) *and the Parliaments in point of Piety and Sobriety: The Animosity and implacable heat, by which the before Conquered, and now Ruling Party, proceeded towards the ruine of those that they took for Enemies to the Cause Civil or Ecclesiastick, which they had owned: The unhappiness of the then present Ministry, that being young then, had never medled with Wars, that they must equally suffer as Enemies, for fearing the Imposed Oaths, Subscriptions, Covenants and Practices: The rejoycing of the common sort of the luxurious, drunkards, whoremongers and Infidels, that they had got so many of the Religious into contempt, and scorn, and ruine: The woful increase of Whoredom, Luxury, and Impiety and Sadducism hereupon: The great numbers of Religious people, who before hoped for Peace and a pious* Prelacy, *that fell hereupon into an hatred of* Prelacy, *and a great disesteem of the Conforming Ministry; and so our Divisions are grown to a fixed factious Enmity; and malice and worldly interest will hear no motions or petitions for* Peace; *and yet madly plead all for* Love and Peace, *while they implacably fight against them, and accuse*

cuſe thoſe as the Enemies of Peace, *who beg* Peace *of them, and cannot obtain it.*

This is the ſum of the doleful Hiſtory which this Book preſuppoſeth: But ſhould I write it, the rage would be increaſed. The foregoing Narrative is as much as is fit for this brief Diſcourſe, which, if you will, you may ſtyle Acris correptio, *with* Gildas; *or* Planctus Eccleſiæ, *with* Alv. Pelag. *Or the* Groans *of the* Church, *with a late Conformable Divine. It hath been caſt by four years, at firſt becauſe it would not be endured, and after in a vain hope that our Church Reformation would make ſuch a complaint leſs neceſſary. But now I perceive the Devil will be the Devil, and Mankind will be born* blind, ſenſual *and* malignant, *till there be a* new Heaven and Earth in which dwelleth Righteouſneſs. *Come Lord Jeſus.*

Auguſt 24. (1689.) *The fatal Day of Silencing in* England *in* 1662.

Chap.

Chap. I. *A Lamentation for the caſe of the Deluded, Malignant, Militant World.*

§ 1. THE depraved and miſerable condition of Mankind, hath long been the aſtoniſhing wonder of the ſober and inquiſitive part of the world: Philoſophers were puzzled with the difficult queſtions, *whence it firſt came?* and *why it is no more remedied?* Chriſtians are taught by the ſacred Scriptures how to anſwer both, by laying it on mans *miſuſing of his free will*, ſuppoſing Gods permiſſion of his tryal and temptations; and on his reſiſtance and rejection of remedying grace, in the degree that it is vouchſaft or offered. But ſtill there are difficulties, and our underſtandings are dark, and hardly ſatiſfied. And whence ever it comes, the caſe is doleful, and we cannot but think of it with aſtoniſhment and lamentation. When we ſaw an hundred thouſand made dead corps by the *London* Plague 1665. it did not take off the terrour to know *how it begun*. And when we ſaw the City on a dreadful flame, which none could ſtop, it cured not the general aſtoniſhment to conjecture *how it was kindled* or *carried on*: No doubt but Hell it ſelf proclaimeth that God is *Holy*, *Wiſe* and *Juſt*, and

Devils and Men are the cauſe of their own everlaſting puniſhment. But yet if we had a ſight of it, amazement and dread would overwhelm us. And, alas! what a Map of Hell is the greateſt part of Earth? Hell is a place of *Lying*, *Malignant* and *murderous*, *hurtful Spirits*, *miſerable by* and *for* their wickedneſs: And is not this in a lower degree, a true deſcription of moſt of the Earth?

§ 2. Nineteen parts in Thirty of the Earth are Idolaters and Heathens: And do I need to ſay, how ignorant, wicked and miſerable they are? Many of them publickly worſhip the Devil, as Witches do with us; and he deludeth them, and appeareth in divers ſhapes to them, and ruleth them as he doth Witches. And thoſe that are more civil are ſtrangers or enemies to Chriſt: Six parts of the thirty are Ignorant Mahometans, deſtroyers indeed of Heatheniſh Idolatry, and ſuch as take Chriſt for a great and true Prophet, but know him not as a Saviour, but equal or prefer a groſs Deceiver, and live under barbarous Tyrants who by violence keep them in the dark. The other five parts that are called Chriſtians, alas! conſiſt moſt of people bred up in lamentable Ignorance, moſtly barbarous or debaſed by the oppreſſion of Tyrants; ſuch as the Moſcovites, moſt of the Greeks, the Abaſſines, Armenians, and many Eaſtern Sects and Nations. What Ignorance the vulgar Papiſts are bred in, in *Italy*,

Italy, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *France*, and other Countreys, and what enmity to true Reformation prevaileth in Princes, Prieſts and People; and by what *Lying* and *Cruelty* they fight againſt Truth, and what Inquiſitions, Murders and inhumane Maſſacres have been their powerful means, I need not uſe many words to tell.

And are the Proteſtant Reformed Churches free from fleſhly, worldly, wicked men? from ignorant malignant cruel Enemies to Truth, and Piety, and Peace?

§ 3. Our Kings Dominions are the beſt and happieſt Nations on Earth. Here is moſt Knowledge of the Truth, and moſt proportionably that truly Love it, and live in a holy obedience thereto, and fain would live a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs, honeſty and ſobriety: But, alas! they muſt be contented with their own perſonal uprightneſs and reward, and the peace of their Conſciences in Gods acceptance. But with men there ſeemeth to be no hopes of common *Wiſdom*, Piety, Love and Peace.

We are all baptiſed with one Baptiſm; we all profeſs to be the ſervants of one God, and the faithful followers of one Chriſt, and to believe in one Holy ſanctifying Spirit, and to believe the ſame Canonical Scriptures as the Word of God, indited by that Spirit; and to be of one Holy Catholick Church, which is all the Members of Chriſt on

Earth; and to hold the Communion of Saints: We moſtly in *England* and *Scotland* agree in the Proteſtant Reformed Doctrine, and Sacraments; Our concord in profeſſion is ſo great, that if ſome men had not deviſed ſome Oaths, Profeſſions, Covenants, Practices and Knacks, and Engines of their own (which they dare not ſay, God made) to become the matter of our unavoidable diſſent, they could hardly have known how to pretend any difference in religion among us, and hell would ſcarce have found any Cloak for malicious accuſations, enmity and diſcord.

You ſhall ſcarce meet with a man that will not ſpeak well of Love and Peace, and ſay that *we muſt Love God above all, and our Neighbours as our ſelves, and do as we would have others do to us.* And yet is there any Enmity or Diſagreement? Alas how great, and how uncureable?

§ 4. Who would think that knew us not by our Profeſſion, but only by our Actions, but that the three Kingdoms conſiſted of the deadlieſt Enemies to each other? Of Turks and Chriſtians; of Wolves and Sheep, that I ſay not of Devils and Men? Yea Turks and Chriſtians can live together in *Hungary*, and all the Eaſtern Countreys; *Orthodox* and Hereticks can live together, in *Poland*, *Helvetia*, *Holland*, &c. But Proteſtants and Proteſtants cannot live together in *Britain*. Cities and Corporations, Countreys and Churches, if not

not Families alſo, are diſtracted in enmity and more than mental feuds and war. *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*, party againſt party, ſtudying Accuſations againſt each other, as if they were Scholars daily exerciſed in the School of him that is the Accuſer of the Brethren. All their Learning and Wit is called up, and poured out, to render others as odious as they are able. All their power, intereſt, friends and diligence are uſed to ruine and deſtroy each other. No lies or perjury with ſome ſeem unlawful to accompliſh ſo deſired an effect. In all companies, the diſcourſe and converſe that ſhould be to edifie each other in Love, and comfort each other by the hopes of dwelling together in Heaven, is taken up with ſlanders, backbitings, ſcorning, railing and plotting the overthrow of the beſt of their neighbours. Innocency never wants odious or ſcornful names: As if they were acting their part that called Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and the ancient Chriſtians, *Deceivers*, *Blaſphemers*, *Enemies to* Cæſar, *Ringleaders* of *Sedition*, that *taught men to worſhip God contrary to the Law*. Every drunkard and wicked liver can as eaſily make his conſcionable neighbour a Rogue, or a Traitor, or a Schiſmatick, or an Hypocrite, as he can open his mouth and ſpeak. And to juſtifie all this malice is become a virtue; hating the moſt religious, is Zeal for Government and Order; deſtroying Chriſts Members, is ſtanding up

for the Church; hunting them as Dogs do Hares, or as Hawks do the leſſer birds, is a meritorious work, of ſupererogation no doubt, and will not finally loſe its reward: God is ſerved by hating and ſcorning them that are ſerious in his ſervice. It is Religion to make Religion odious, and call it Hypocriſie, and to be for that which is uppermoſt, and befriends their worldly Intereſt, and to make him ſuſpected of Diſloyalty, who is for obedience to God. Conſcience, and fear of ſinning, and of damnation, is the mortal enemy to be conquered or driven out of the Land; as if there were no quietneſs to be expected in mens minds, no concord in the Church, no obedience to the Clergy, or the Laws, no ſafety from Sedition, till Conſcience be ſilenced or baniſhed, and men give over fearing God; or as if Chriſt and *Cæſar* could not both reign, but God or Princes muſt be dethroned.

And O that the ſacred Tribe were innocent, and none of them were the leaders in ſuch hypocritical malignity! Their Canons *ipſo facto* excommunicate all (not excepting Princes, Parliaments or Judges) that do but ſay, *that any of their Ceremonies, Liturgy, or Officers in Church Government,* (not excepting the loweſt or Lay-mens power of the Church Keys by decreeing Excommunications and Abſolutions) *are repugnant to the Word of God*: And when they have *ipſo facto* Excommunicated

cated them all, they call them Separatiſts for not coming to their Communion: Think not the contradiction and hypocriſy incredible: read but the 5, 6, 7, and 8. Canons, and judge. They have a Law, and by their Law he is cut off from the Church or Chriſt, that doth but call any of theſe the Inventions of Prelates, ſinful, or ſay that God forbids them; And the Jail muſt be his dwelling till he die there, who in ten caſes remaineth Excommunicate, and doth not openly profeſs that he repenteth, and judgeth that to be ſinleſs, which he is utterly unable ſo to judge. When we have preached ſeven and ſeven years, to perſwade a Drunkard, a Liar, and Prophane ſwearer, an Atheiſt, to Repent, he liveth quietly out of the Jail though he repent not: But if a man repent not (when he cannot) of judging that God forbids ſuch humane inventions and impoſitions in Religion, take him Jaylor; He that will not be for our humane Offices, Ceremonies and Impoſitions, ſhall not be of our Church; And when we have caſt him out, we'll ſay, He ſeparateth: and if he be not of our Church, he ſhall be in Jail; As if the Church and the Jail would hold all the land, except his ſin be ſuch a Peccadillo as Atheiſm, Sadduceiſm, Beſtiality, Hobbiſm, Popery, Man-ſlaughter, Adultery, Drunkenneſs, Swearing, &c. not aggravated by the crimes of breaking the

Canons in point of conformity; Or if many thouſands cannot or will not come within the Doors of the Pariſh Church, ſo they will go to no unlicenſed preacher, nor worſhip God in Houſe or Church at all, they live quietly out of Priſon. But if the mote of an Oath or Ceremony ſcrupled be in their eye, that eye muſt be pulled out (if the mote cannot) or elſe the whole body be caſt into their Hell. And if the Preacher be but a Candidate of Domination, his way is oft to call to the Magiſtrate to execute the Law upon ſuch as dare preſume to worſhip God openly, till they hold all ſuch impoſed Oaths, Covenants, Profeſſions and Practices to be lawful: He is to make his auditory believe that ſuch men are dangerous, intolerable perſons, and that their meeting to worſhip God and learn their duty, is to cheriſh Sedition, Hereſy and Schiſm, and that Rebellion is in their hearts; and that the Preachers that even to a thing indifferent are not of their mind and obedience, are deceivers, and factious, and it is no ſacriledge, but a duty to forbid them to preach the Goſpel. If the People dare not truſt the Parſon, Vicar or Curate of the Pariſh, (be he what he will, whom a ——Patron chooſeth for them) with the Paſtoral Ordinary conduct of their Souls, or if he Preach not at all, if they go to the next Parochial conformiſt for the Sacrament, he is to be driven home, and uſed as diſobedient.

Through

Through the great mercy of God while the Bible is Licenſed, a Preacher in *England* knoweth not how to ſpend his hour, if he ſay not ſomewhat for Faith and Godlineſs, Love and Peace: And when they come down, none are ſo hated by ſome of them, as thoſe that believe and do to their utmoſt what they for faſhion ſake perſwaded them to believe and do. Their neighbours who have not a word with the Prieſt of any thing but this World, nor read a chapter or put up a prayer in their families, theſe are good and quiet neighbours; But if any ſeriouſly prepare for their everlaſting ſtate, and mind their Salvation above the World, eſpecially if he pray without-book, and diſlike the ignorance and ſcandalous lives of ſorry Prieſts, theſe are the dangerous troublers of the land, away with them, and give us thoſe that trouble us not with the talk of God and of death, and Heaven or Hell, of Scripture or of Conſcience, and that ſcruple nothing that we would have them ſay or do. If ſuch pray, it is but in hypocriſy; If they go to hear any other Preacher, it is in faction. If they ſpeak any words to God which are not written down for them to read, they ſawcily prate to God and ſpeak but nonſence; If they be earneſt as knowing what they pray for, they do but whine and cut faces, and ſpeak through the Noſe, or are a pack of groaning Hypocrites. It is confeſt that the ſpirit of Adoption and Suppli-

Supplication is Gods Gift; and that this Spirit taught the Biſhops and Convocation in what words to pray to God: But if the moſt holy or learned man beſides them pretend to it, and think that any may pray by the Spirits help but the Convocation, there are reverend men that will deride that *Spirit* or that *prayer*. I would at leaſt they would let men pray by *reaſon* and the ſenſe of *their Souls neceſſities* (as a Child will beg pardon of an offended Father,) if they will not give them leave to pray by that Spirit (which all muſt live by that will be ſaved.)

Phyſicians uſe their patients with ſome humanity, and will not ſay to him that ſaith, [*My ſtomach cannot take down this Potion; I ſhall caſt it up*] *You ſhall take it or die, or go to Priſon:* Or if one ſay, [*This Pill is bigger than my Throat can ſwallow,*] They will rather ſay, *It ſhall be made leſs* than they will cut his Throat wider to get it down. And ſure the reaſon is becauſe the Law doth make them Phyſicians to none but Volunteers, and give them no compelling power: If it did, I know not what inhumanity they might come to: For I will not believe that there is any thing in Divinity which tendeth to make men more inhumane than Phyſicians. I have ſeen *Jews* and others that will eat no ſwines fleſh; And I have known many that a taſt of Cheeſe would caſt into a ſwound near death: And I never knew any ſay, *you ſhall*

ſhall eat this, or die: Nor that ever motioned the making of a Law that all men ſhould be impriſoned, or forbidden all other meat, who refuſed to eat Swines-fleſh, for fear of tolerating Jews.

But we have Prieſts too many, that will ſay, *Take every Oath, Promiſe or Ceremony required of you, or preach not, nor worſhip God openly at all:* Take me for your Paſtor, or you ſhall have none: Hear me, or hear no man: Receive the Communion from me, or from none: Deny not the lawfulneſs of a Ceremony, or be Excommunicate.

§ 4. And is it now any wonder that the people ſay as they are taught? And theſe are leſſons eaſilier learnt than a Catechiſm, or the Creed, or the meaning of Baptiſm. How quickly can a man learn to call his Neighbour Whig, or Tory! Or to hate a Godly man, or in a Tavern or Ale-houſe to ſcorn them, or drink and curſe to their confuſion, and to ſay, I hope to ſee them all hang'd or baniſhed out of the Land: As a Prieſt that knows not what Divinity or the Prieſtly Office is, may before he taketh many degrees, attain the ability learnedly to call his Godly Neighbours, Schiſmaticks, or Hypocrites or worſe; So no doubt a few ſuch Sermons, if not a Tavern, can quickly teach them that never knew what Religion is, yea that can ſcarce ſpeak ſenſe, to revile the wiſeſt and beſt men, as if they were ſinners againſt the

true

true Religion, if they will be ſerious in any true Religion at all.

§ 5. O ſinful! O miſerable Land! Who kindled all the helliſh flames of thy malignity and mad diviſions? And who continueth them, and for what? What cloven foot hath entred, and expelled concord? What Spirit ruleth thee? Were it the Spirit of Chriſt, it would be for healing, Love and Concord; It would ſet men on ſtudying to promote Love to all, even unto enemies, but much more to the moſt holy. It would make men zealous of good works, and if it were poſſible as much as in them lieth to live peaceably with all men, to bleſs thoſe that curſe them, to pray for thoſe that hate and perſecute them, forbearing and forgiving one another, even as God for Chriſts ſake forgiveth us. It would teach them while they have time to do good to all men, but eſpecially to them of the houſhold of Faith; Mens hearts would be conſtituted of Love: It would become a nature in them. Their Speech and Converſe would be the Savoury breath of Love: Their dealings towards all men would be the works of Love: Their ſharpeſt reproofs would be but to do the ſinner good.

But alas another Spirit hath poſſeſſed thee which rageth and teareth thee; and is blind and deaf; It calleth for Fire from Heaven, and it kindleth a fire of Hell: And ſure his name is *Legion*; for there are many. It paſſeth

paſſeth under the names of *Wiſdom*, and *Hatred* of ſome evil: But it muſt needs be Earthly, Senſual and Deviliſh, for it is neither Pure, nor Peaceable, Gentle, or Merciful and Impartial, but foameth with bitter envy and ſtrife, unto confuſion and every evil work: And yet thou knoweſt not what manner of Spirit thou art of.

Is it God that ſetteth rulers and people againſt each other. Doth he divide his own Kingdom, againſt it ſelf, when he tells us that the Devil will not do ſo by his. Is it God that ſets the parts of the ſame body in a hatred and War againſt each other? As if it were the intereſt of the nobler and the Servile parts to weaken or deſtroy each other? And it were an addition to the health and welfare of the one, which is gotten by Conqueſt from the other? Is it God that maketh people deſpiſe or diſhonour their lawful Governours, or any Rulers to hate the beſt Subjects, and deſire more to be feared than to be loved, and rather to have power to do hurt, than actually to do good? Is it God that ſets Corporations, and Churches and Neighbours and Families, in a ſtate of Malice, Vexation, Strife, and a kind of War againſt each other? Doth the Spirit of God indite the malicious Pamphlets, which exerciſe the utmoſt of Wit and Hatred, to deſtroy Love, and to call the Nation into the Devils Camp, by mutual hatred to live as Enemies,

Enemies, and Fight againſt the Lord and the ways of Peace. And if any endeavour a reconciling healing of our wounds, it's turned into ſcorn, and his healing motions are repreſented as the grand cauſes of diviſion; and to beg for peace is heinous Schiſm, and next Rebellion againſt the Church, and a crime ſufficient to forfeit that mans Peace and Reputation: And he that tells men of the only poſſible terms of Concord, is made the chiefeſt cauſe of diſcord. To ſerve and worſhip God no otherwiſe than *Peter* and *Paul* did, and than God preſcribeth is enough to render us unworthy to live on *Engliſh* Earth? And if *England* may not ſuffer ſuch, why ſhould any other nation ſuffer them? There are men that keep holy days for St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*, and dedicate Churches to them, and their bellies are maintained at *Dives* rates, and their Wealth and Revenues and Grandure held up, by that which is dedicated to theſe Churches, (and to alienate any of this ſuperfluity from their fleſh were worſe Sacriledge than to caſt out and ſilence a thouſand faithful Preachers;) And yet if St. *Paul* were a Preacher now in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy* or *England*, and would worſhip God but as he did when he was on Earth, and would not ſwear, ſay and do as much more as the Biſhops Canons bid him, I think we ſhould again hear thoſe words, *Acts* 22. 22. *Away with ſuch a fellow from the Earth, for it is not fit that*

that he ſhould live (here :) Unleſs he wrought miracles to convince men : And whether thoſe would prevail is a doubtful caſe ; or whether he would not paſs for a Deceiver and Fanatick.

§ *6.* As in times of War, all broken, beggarly and idle fellows, turn Souldiers, as the eaſieſt trade to live by, and are never after good for any other trade, but to kill and rob men ; So the *Love-killing Regiments*, have forſaken other trades, and this is like to put down all. Bookſellers complain that they can ſell few Books but News and Scorning or Invective Libels. And what is the ſubject of our (formerly weekly and now daily) News Books ? Why, they tell us that ſuch a City or Corporation are altogether by the Ears as Enemies, ſome chooſing one Mayor and ſome another ; Some called *Whigs*, and others *Tories* ; Some ſeeking the ruine and Blood of others, and ſome hardly eſcaping the power of falſe Witneſſes and Oaths ! One Jury acquitting a man whoſe life is ſought, and another condemning him : In ſuch a Town or City ſo many fined, and ſo many diſtreined on, and ſo many crowded into Jails, and ſuch and ſuch Preachers caſt into Priſon, and ſuch a one dead there, for praying to God and openly worſhipping him without-book, or by no book but his own. In ſuch and ſuch a Country the people proſecuting each other on ſuch accounts, and

ſome

ſome flying into other parts, and ſome into *America* to ſeek that peace among Savages and Wolves, and Serpents, in Wilderneſſes, which they could not have under ſacred Proteſtant Prelates and their Clergy. In *France* the poor Proteſtants hunted like Hares, neither ſuffered to live at home, nor to flie naked to beg their bread in other Lands; and all this for the concord and peace of the holy Catholick Church; a pattern ſo worthy of imitation, that even ſuch excellent men as *Grotius* think, that it's worth all hazards, labour and coſt, to reduce *England* and the Lutherans to the French-Church-Conſiſtence, and to ſilence and ruine all as Calviniſts that are againſt it. From *Hungary* we muſt read, how the perſecuted Proteſtants, after their utmoſt ſuffering and patience, are fain to call in Turks to ſave them from the cruelties of Chriſtians. And that thoſe parts that are under the Turks have far more proſperity and freedom in Religion, than thoſe that are under the Emperor & Papiſts.

And Proteſtants under them are kept in continual fear, as knowing that it is their Law and Doctrine, that Princes are bound to do their beſt to exterminate or deſtroy them, on pain of Excommunication, Depoſition and Damnation: And remembring the Inquiſitions, the *Piedmont*, French, Dutch, Iriſh, *&c.* Maſſacres: So that they are brought to this hard dilemma, *Chuſe whether you*

you will be Dead men, or be proclaimed Rebels. If whole *Countreys* will not lie down and die patiently without ſelf-defence, they are odious Rebels.

Theſe and ſuch other are the ſubjects of our News-books, which have broken the poor *Bookſellers*, who were wont to live by ſelling Books of Learning, and of practical Divinity. And too many Preachers are fain to be ſhort as well as formal in their Sermons for Chriſtian Love, becauſe they ſpend ſo much time in Preaching up hatred and deſtruction. Were there but any Art that could deviſe any Engine that could reach the heart, and turn it into the hatred of thoſe that never did them wrong (as they ſay ſome Philters and Charms will make men mad with Love ;) Or if any Apothecary had an effectual Medicine againſt brotherly Love, I doubt theſe would become the moſt accuſtomed Shops and proſperous Trades in all the City: But for want of ſuch, ſome Pulpits, Printers, Bookſellers, Clubs, Drinking-houſes, and Play-houſes (to paſs by fouler) muſt ſerve the turn. But if God have not mercy on the Land by reſtraining them, Gunpowder-makers, Gun-ſmiths, Sword-ſellers, Souldiers, Swearers and Executioners, will ſwallow up moſt other Trades in the Land. It's worth enquiry whether in foreſight of this, they ſet not their Sons to ſuch Trades as theſe, or Apprentices to ſuch

Lawyers as are beſt at preparative Accuſations, and have learnt *Tertullus*'s Art: Or to ſuch Schools and Tutors as can teach them the Learning of *Zedekiah*, and the four hundred Prophets, 1 *King.* 22.

§ 7. And all this is the more unexcuſable and lamentable, becauſe they came but lately out of the fire, which this ſame malignant Spirit kindled; The very ſame cauſes caſt the three Kingdoms into dreadful Flames and Blood. The Hiſtories of the bloody murder of many hundred thouſands called *Albigenſes*, *Waldenſes* and *Bohemians*, in *Piedmont*, *Germany* and elſewhere, and of the Netherland cruelties, the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition and Invaſions, the murder of thirty or forty thouſand at once in *France*, and of two of their Kings, the Powder Plot here, as well as the Bonefires in Q. *Marys* days, and much more their Councils and Doctors defending and commanding ſuch uſage of Proteſtants, did ſet all our Parliaments one after another into a vehement unwillingneſs to be ſo uſed, and to fall into their hands that will do it if they can: And when the evil Spirit had raiſed croſs intereſts and diſtruſts between King and Parliament, the Papiſts ſeeming to be for the War and King, and ſuddenly murdering in *Ireland* no fewer than two hundred thouſand, and pretending the Kings Commiſſion, and threatning the like in *England*, affrightned the People into the Army,

Army, after raiſed by the Parliament. And though I think all that War in *England* kill'd not the fourth part ſo many as the Papiſts had murdered in *Ireland*; yet ſo diſmal and odious was it, and had ſo direful an end, as loudly told us how bad the cauſes and beginnings were. Few parts of the Land were free from ſpoil, plunder and poverty; yea or from terrible Sieges and fields of blood: Engliſh-men labouring to deſtroy each other, and ſome hiring Forreigners to help them: And Lads running from their Parents to be as Apprentices to the Man-killing Trade. Counties were againſt Counties, Cities againſt Cities, Neighbours againſt Neighbours, ſingle perſons flying from Men as from Bears and Tygers, as after in the Plague-time, afraid of almoſt all that they met. And at laſt the very Armies falling out among themſelves: The firſt raiſed for the Parliament, were maſtered by a ſecond Party, that brought in (as Auxiliaries) a new Impoſition; and that Party after maſtered and caſt down by a third that brought in a new Cauſe; and that prevailing, pulling down their Maſters, an Uſurper odiouſly deſtroying the King, and ſetting up himſelf with another Title, and ſubduing and ruining thoſe that were againſt it, even both the Parties that began the War: And yet when he was dead, to ſhew the World what diviſions can do, that ſame Victorious, Rebellious Army, fell all into pieces by its

own diſcord, and was totally diſſolved as by a miracle, without one drop of blood that ever I could hear of; and the Victorious leaders many of them hang'd, drawn and quartered, and their heads and quarters hang'd up on the City Gates.

And would not one think that a Nation of men in their wits, ſhould after ſo long and ſad experience of the miſchiefs of hatred and diviſion, be willing of the reviving of Love and Concord, and hate all motions of dividing any more? But alas, they hate them that would heal our wounds; and if any one lay on a healing Plaiſter, there are hands too many both Lay and Clergy, ready with rage to pull it off, and yet it's all on pretence of healing us, that they will not ſuffer us to be healed; for the way of peace they have not known. Unhappy Surgeons, that know no Balſom but Corroſives and Diſtilled Vinegar, yea no way of healing but by diſmembring, even the uſefulleſt members of the Body. Having learned of the Romiſh Leeches that live on blood, when they are for exhauſting the vital Stock, and caſt the Kingdom into a Palſy or *Maraſmus*, they tell you it was all but corrupt or hæmorrhoidal blood, and the loſs of it neceſſary to cure the madneſs of the Land.

The beginning of ſome reconciliation between the firſt contending Parties, began to flatter us with the hopes of Reſtored Love and

and Quietneſs: Secret conſultations prepared the way: Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, Print their Proteſtations for Oblivion and Reconciliation, and againſt Revenge. Hereupon thoſe that by Land and Sea, in the three Kingdoms had fought againſt the King, reſtore him: The land rejoyceth in the ſmiling hopes of reviving Charity and Concord: The King chiefly cauſeth theſe hopes by his Declarations and Act of Oblivion, and ſpecially his healing Gracious Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. The houſe of Commons and the City Miniſters give him thanks for it: Who would have thought now but ſuch Experience, ſuch Proteſtations, ſuch Obligations, ſuch Authorities ſhould have put the whole Kingdom into a longing deſire to perfect the work of Love and Peace? But it proved clean contrary: Some had other things in their Heads and Hearts; outlandiſh Faſhions, eſpecially *French*, have long been the Badge of *Engliſh* folly! There are men in *Spain* that trade much in the fire, and Queen *Mary* brought the trade into *England*: There are men in many other Forreign Lands, who are ſo devout that their Canons and Religion rule their appetites; And they love no meat like a Carbonado'd Proteſtant, nor are pleaſed with any Perfume or Incenſe ſo much as with the ſmell of a roſted Saint, firſt call'd a Heretick or Schiſmatick: Like the Roman Tyrant that gloried in the ſweet-

neſs of the ſmell when he ſmelt the ſtink of the Carcaſſes which he had laid to dung the Field. And there were men abroad that learnt theſe Faſhions, and Contracted ſuch a familiarity and Love to Forreigners, as that for obtaining Union with them, all the Diviſions, Diſtractions and Calamities of *England* and *Scotland*, are not thought too dear a Sacrifice: And as ſome Sons of Nonconformiſts muſt be doubly virulent to expiate the guilt of their Original ſin; So ſome *Engliſh* men muſt like *Sampſon* and *David*, bring double Teſtimony of their real enmity to the Philiſtines, from their Skins, before they can be truſted abroad as real reconcilers: And they ſay that there are ſome things that will be cloſely united, by no cement ſo well as by humane blood. Doubtleſs the Goſpel as uſed in *Engliſh*, and Preached by true Proteſtants, (ſuch as the *Pſeudo-Bellamie* in *Philanax Anglicus* hatefully calleth *Proteſtants* off *Sincerity*,) goeth not with many beyond Sea, for the ſame Goſpel which they believe. And therefore no wonder if the Preachers of it be unpleaſing to them; and he that will pleaſe them, and unite with them, muſt ſilence or oppoſe thoſe that they would have to be ſilenced and diſgraced. And ſome think that Union with many Kingdoms of Chriſtians, which call themſelves the Catholick Church, is much to be preferred before the Love and Concord of a hated party in our Iſland.

Iſland. And as Dr. *Saywell* (the Maſter of a Colledge and Biſhop *Gunnings* Chaplain) ſaith (to prove that there is a Univerſal Legiſlative and Judicial power in the Clergy, over Kingdoms as well Perſons ;) ["*If more perſons or particular Churches give offence by Hereſy, Schiſm,* &c. The CHURCH UNIVERSAL, *or the reſt of the Biſhops may reprove them for it, and then there is no Reaſon why one man ſhould be cenſured and many ſhould go free, and conſequently our Saviour hath eſtabliſhed the Authority of his Church over all Chriſtians as well particular Churches as private men: Churches of Kingdoms and Nations have a* SOVERAIGNTY *over them to which they muſt yield obedience,* Iſa. 60. 12. *The Nation and Kingdom that will not ſerve thee, ſhall periſh: yea thoſe Nations ſhall be utterly waſted,* pag. 343.

Though Kings have no Civil Univerſal Soveraign over them but Chriſt, yet it ſeems all the world both Kings and Kingdoms have an Eccleſiaſtical Soveraignty over them all: Communion of equalls and Chriſtian Counſel and Reproof is not enough, ſuch as all Neighbour *Princes* may uſe towards one another; Nor the denial of ſuch Communion to the uncapable! But all Kings and Kingdoms muſt be under one Church Soveraignty, which hath a Legiſlative & Judicial power over them all, to excommunicate, abſolve them, *&c.* And how muchmore *in ordine ad Spiritualia* the common expoſition of Eccleſiaſtical *Power* tells

you: As experience long told many Kingdoms what the Excommunicating of a King, and Interdicting a Kingdom the worſhip of God, do ſignify towards their Dethroning or Invaſion.

And all this muſt be done, not as for the Pope, but under the name of a General Council, and the poor Pope ſhall have no power but, ſay ſome, to call that Council, and call it General when there is no ſuch thing, and preſide in it, and rule us as chief Patriarch and St. *Peters* Succeſſor, in the Intervals of General Councils (that is, continually) and that not *Arbitrarily*, but by the Laws of the Church or Councils, (and no mortal man can tell which thoſe Authorized Legiſlative Councils are, among the hundreds of erroneous or contradicting ones.) So that Popery in *England* is an abhorred thing; for it is nothing with ſome but the *Popes abſolute Government of the whole Church, as without or above Laws and Eccleſiaſtick Parliaments.*

And can you reconcile all this to our Oath of Supremacy, and the Canons that eſtabliſh it, *renouncing all forreign Juriſdiction?* Yes eaſily, we have been told it meaneth only *forreign Civil Juriſdiction which belongs to the King, and not forreign Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*, (which is all that the ſober Popes do claim, ſave indirectly *in ordine ad Spiritualia*) To Command a Nation on pain of Excommunication and Damnation (according to divers Councils) to renounce their Allegiance

to

to their Excommunicate Prince, and to depoſe him, and ſet up another, is no act of Civil, but of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, which yet hath dethroned Emperours and overthrown Dominions.

And ſaith *A.* Biſhop *Laud* (in Dr. *Stillingfleet's* defence of him, *p.* 540. [*It doth not follow, becauſe the Church may err, therefore She may not Govern. For the Church hath not only a* PASTORAL *Power, to Teach and Direct, but a* PRETORIAN *alſo, to controul and cenſure*, &c. *And for external obedience to General Councils when they err*, [*Conſider whether it be not fit to allow a General council that honour and priviledge which all other Great Courts have*: Stillingfleet, *p.* 534.]

So that inſtead of a Council of equals for concord (as Princes uſe for peace with their neighbours,) We have an *Univerſal Soveraign Court ſet up with Pretorian Power, to make binding Laws, and paſs Judgment to all the Chriſtian World, and (ſay ſome) They are Schiſmaticks that obey not theſe Univerſal Laws, and obedience to them, and ſuppreſſing all forbidden Aſſemblies for Gods worſhip is the only way to Chriſtian concord.*

And where this forreign Juriſdiction is made of ſuch abſolute neceſſity, that without ſubjection to it by Kings and Kingdoms, there is no concord to be had, nor any avoiding of the guilt of Schiſm, what wonder if ſome can wiſh that ſilencings, reproaches, ruines,

ruines, and confuſions may be thought no dear price to obtain an univerſal union; for which Chriſt and his Law are inſufficient. They that have read *Grotius*, *Caſſander*, *Baldwin*, *Hoffmeiſter*, *Eraſmus*, *A.* Biſhop *Laud*, Dr. *Heylin* of his Life, Biſhop *Sparrow*, *A.* Biſhop *Bromhal* and the Prefacer Biſhop *Parker*, *Thorndike*, Biſhop *Gunning* and his Chaplain Dr. *Saywell*, and ſuch others, and againſt them all have read Dr. *Iſaac Barrow of the Supremacy* againſt *Thorndike*, *&c.* may underſtand where our difference and danger lyeth.

§ 8. And is *Englands* ſelf deſtroying diſeaſe uncureable! God hath in wonderful mercy given us peace from forreign Enemies? And is there no hope of prevailing with Engliſh men to live together in peace? Muſt that of *Iſa.* 49. 36. be our caſe, to *eat our own Fleſh, and be drunken with our own Blood as with ſweet Wine?* Alas, no counſel, no petitions, no tears, no experience, no judgments of God by Plagues and Flames, have hitherto one jot prevailed; But the Ulcer of mens minds grows more and more putrid and malignant!

Two ways are by ſome propoſed: Firſt that all the Conſciencious worſhippers of God in the Kingdom, ſhould bring their judgments to a full conformity, in every particular to their rulers: Whenas firſt they cannot tell us who theſe muſt be: ſome ſay to the King or Law? Some ſay to the Biſhops in a National Convocation: Others ſay,

ſay, to the foreſaid forreign univerſal Soveraignty of General Councils, (with the Patriarchs.) If the firſt be the way, what Kingdoms muſt it be in? Is it no where but in *Britain*? Or alſo in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Poland*? And muſt there be as many Religions as Kings and Laws will make? And how far muſt this go? And where muſt we ſtop? Muſt Kings chooſe us a God? Or chuſe whether we ſhall have any God, any Chriſt, any Bible, any worſhip of God, and ſo any Heaven?

If it be the Biſhops that muſt be the common rule of our Religion, what Countreys and Ages doth this rule ſerve for? Was it the rule where Princes and Prelates were Arians, or Neſtorians, or Eutychians, or Monothelites, or Papiſts? Is it the rule now in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *&c.* Or was it ſo in the Popes Catholick Church, from *An.* 700 till the Reformation.

If it be General Councils, I am weary of repeating the Proofs that there never was one, nor ever is like to be one, or ought to be. If it be an *European* Council, who ſhall call them, and who ſhall judge whether it be equal, and ſo far General? And are not the greater number of *European* Biſhops known Papiſts? And will they not then be the Major Vote? And ſo we muſt be as bad as they? And if the reſt of the Chriſtian world be not bound by them (in *Greece*, *Ethiopia*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, &c.) Why are we? Is it the Council of *Ariminum*,

Ariminum, *Sirmium*, *Milane*, &c. or of *Ephesus* 2, *Nice* 2*d* many at *Constantinople*, at the *Laterane*, at *Lyons*, at *Florence*, at *Constance*, at *Basil*, at *Trent*, that are our Rule! Must all that will be Catholicks and saved, hold all the Heresies, Contradictions, and Corruptions that Councils have held, and obey all their load of Canons? If the *Italians*, *French*, *English*, &c. are all disagreed, how many and which Councils we must obey, can all poor people know which is in the right? And hath Christ left Religion so uncertain a thing? Or so mutable that General Councils of Prelates may be still increasing it? If he was the the maker of it, by himself and his Apostles, we may know more certainly where to find it: Most Christians may say, *Christ we know*, and *Peter* and *Paul*, &c. we know: But your Councils are too many, too voluminous, too uncertain, for us to know. But if they are such an absolutely necessary rule as you pretend, why do not teachers preach them to us daily as they do the Sacred Scriptures?

If any would come down to confine these universal Laws only to *Things Indifferent*, alas, must the world be confounded and divided about things indifferent? Are not things indifferent variable as Countreys and Ages are? And must the world have one Soveraignty to make Laws for them? Cannot we have Life, Liberty, Peace and Love without things indifferent? Or without agreeing in them.

them. Are there any two in the whole world, that are not ignorant, and that differ not about many greater matters than things indifferent? Doth he know himself, or know what a man is, that thinks all tolerated Christians must be so Skill'd in all things indifferent, which men may impose, as to know them to be such? When it is so hard to teach the people things necessary, few and plain? Alas, Lord, why must the Churches be left in such hands?

§ 9. But some have found out another remedy for our divisions; and that is, That only the Bishops shall be engaged to a Forreign Jurisdiction, or profess the necessity of obeying them, (under the name of a General Council, and in the intervals, of a Colledge of the Bishops of the whole world, as one Aristocracy;) And that this shall not be imposed on any Lay-Communicants, but their Consciences shall be left at liberty; Nor at the first on the inferior Clergy, till they are prepared to receive it: But only that the People obey the Priests and Prelates, and the Priests obey the Prelates and all their Governing Officers, and the Prelates only profess obedience to the *Pretorian* Court called, *The Catholick Church.* Bishop *Gunnings Chaplain tells us that the Laity are not required in order to Communion to declare for General Councils.* Whether they use the like Moderation in *France, Spain, Germany,* I know

know not, *viz. For the Bishops only to Profess obedience to the Pope*, and the *Priests to the Bishops, and the people to the Priests* and *Bishops.* I hear they go further.

And *if Conventicles* (as they will call them) *are also suppressed, we need not fear Religious Violence, Murder and Ruine, (upon a feared Roman Successour.)* For saith the same *Bishops Chaplain*, pag 283. [*For matters may be so ordered, that all Officers, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, and all that are employed in Power or Authority of any kind, be persons both of known Loyalty to the Crown, and yet faithful Sons of the Church, and firm to the established Religion, and the Laws that they act by may be so explained in the favour of those that conform to the publick Worship, and the discouragement of all Dissenters, that we must reasonably be secure from all violence that the Papists can offer to force our submission: For when all our Bishops and Clergy are under strict obligations and Oaths, and the people are guided by them; and all Officers Civil and Military are firm to the same interest, and under severe penalties if they act any thing to the contrary; Then what probable danger can there be of any violence or disturbance to force us out of our Religion, when all things are thus secured, and the power of External Execution is generally in the hands of men of our own perswasion.*]

Ans. The Dr. says well: I am of his mind in this: When they have subdued and cast out all Dissenters (as they do in *France*) and the

the Biſhops and Clergy are ſetled under a Forreign Church-Juriſdiction, and the People ſetled in Obedience to them, and all Offices Civil, Military and Eccleſiaſtick in their hands, I do not think they need to fear that the Papiſts will uſe violence to change their Religion, whoever reigneth.

But the Queſtion is, whether this ſuppoſe an *Union* with all in *England* that are now againſt a Forreign Juriſdiction, or only the *deſtruction of them*, or elſe the *forcing them to theſe terms?* As to a *deſtruction of them, or forcing them to ſuch terms*, ſurely *Violence* muſt do this. And what *though the Subjects of Forreign Power* fear no *Violence*, are all the reſt (that is, the *Proteſtants*) of the Kingdom inconſiderable? We ſuppoſe the old Church of *England*, and all our Parliaments ſince the Reformation, were againſt a Forreign Juriſdiction: And will it be no loſs to *England* to deſtroy ſo many, that is, the Body of the Land?

But the Queſtion is, Whether they may not be thus brought to concord by conſent? I anſwer, no, unleſs you ſuppoſe them to be men that indeed have no Religion, and therefore can eaſily part with the bare name. For they are ſworn by the Oath of Supremacy againſt *all forreign Juriſdiction*: And put the caſe that the Pope and a Council, or the King of *France* would bring the Emperours or the Kings Army to ſerve him, and be at his

his Command, and he would only desire that the General Officers and Colonels may be engaged to obey him, and the Captains and lower Officers to obey them, and the Souldiers to obey the Officers; but the common Souldiers shall be bound to no more, than this obedience to their Officers. Query, Whether all these Souldiers be not Traitors to the King or Emperour? *Cromwells* common Souldiers took no Commissions against King or Parliament; they did but obey their Officers that pulled down both! And were they therefore guiltless. Protestants will not thus follow such Prelates, against their Oaths, and against the known truth, and against their duty to God and the King.

§ 10. But though it be notorious that Domination and Jurisdiction be the things which cause the Papal *Clergy* to trouble and tear the Christian world, what is it that makes the *Laity* so mad, & getteth this Clergy such a militant crowd against their own Tranquillity and Salvation? It's as visible as any moral thing, that the Churches Divisions and Wars, and Miseries have about a thousand years risen, from *Satans* thrusting such worldly, fleshly, unholy men into holy Offices, who seek them but to serve their Pride and Covetousness, and Fleshly Appetites, and Ease, and who are Enemies at the heart to the serious obedience to Christ, which formally they preach. Christs own Apostles in their time of ignorance

rance, began to ſtrive which of them ſhould be greateſt; of which we have recorded his ſharp rebuke; which St. *Peter* himſelf did after ſecond, in 1 *Pet.* 5. 1, 2, 3. in words ſo plain, that if his pretended Succeſſours had not firſt claimed a power (as the Church) to be the determining expounders of all the Bible, they had lain under the Condemnation of Chriſt and *Peter*, Naked, without a Defence or Cloak: But this *Church-expounding authority* ſets them above all the Word of God, which is now but what they pleaſe to make it, and an inſtrument to execute their wills: And indeed it is now rather the Pope and his Prelates and Councils than Chriſt, that are the Law-makers to the Church: For it is not he that maketh the *words* only that makes the Law, but he that giveth them their *ſenſe*. The *words* are but as the *body*, and the *ſenſe* is the *Soul* of the Law. The Miniſterial Church now ſcorn the name of Miniſters, and being become *Pretorian* and Magiſterial, they give Chriſt and his Spirit in the Apoſtles leave to make the words and body of the Scripture or Divine Law, as God formed *Adams* body of the duſt, ſo that they may give it the breath of Life, and alſo may make far more Voluminous Laws of their own, and cut off and condemn all the Children of God, that cannot believe that it's lawful to obey them.

And though the Ignorant think that the

claim of universal Legislation and Judgment, in the universal Church and General Councils, be no Service to the Domination of particular Clergy men, no nor to any, seeing there will never be a General Council,] They understand not the *mystery* of *iniquity*, and mistake. We have *English Writers* that have told them, 1. That indeed *Power is first given to the body*, (fine doctrine for *Royalists*) but *by* the *Body* it is *given to the Prelates to use for them*. 2. That as a *General Council* hath the *Supream power*, so the *Prelates* under them have the Inferior Ruling power, and the executive in the intervals of Councils: 3. That as Councils represent the Church in Soveraignty, so every Bishop is by his office, the true Representative of the Clergy of his Dioceſs, and every Metropolitan the Representative of his Province, and every Patriarch of his Patriarchate; And then are not the Patriarchs (at least with the Metropolitans,) Universal Rulers in such Intervals? 4. And the Pope is the Patriarch of the West, and hath a primacy in the Church universal, and must be confest to be *principium unitatis Catholicæ*, and say some, to be the President of Councils. 5. To which others add, that it *belongs only to the president to call Councils, and to Judg which are Lawful, without whose call they are so far from binding us, that they are themselves but unlawful Routs.* And what would you have more?

But

But what's all this to the poor Prieſts? What? Why, 7. The people know not what the volumes of Councils ſay, and it is the Prieſts (or no body) that muſt tell it them, (both what their expoſition of Scripture is, and what their own additional Laws are) without which they cannot be obeyed: ſo that indeed the peoples Faith is ultimately reſolvedly into the authority of the Prieſt, who tells them what the Biſhop ſaith, who tells them what the Metropolitan and his Synod ſaith, who tells them what the *Patriarch* and his Synod ſaith, who tells them what the chief *Patriarch* and a General Council ſaith, who tell them determinatively what Chriſt and the Scripture ſaith and meaneth.

But what's this to Councils when there are none? Yes, 8. Thoſe that are paſt and gone, have left all thoſe binding Laws by which the preſent Biſhops as an Ariſtocracy muſt govern all the Chriſtian World.

But are not they for *Monarchy in the ſtate*? How come they then to plead for a *Soveraign Ariſtocracy* over the Catholick Church, and how come even the French Clergy to be for the power of a Church Parliament above the Pope? I cannot anſwer that; let the Pope and they debate it.

But I wonder that *A.* Biſhop *Laud* ſhould be for the derivation of all power from the *Body*, as *Richard Hooker* is: See Dr. *Stillingfleets*

Defence of him *p.* 544. 545. &c. [*No Body collective, whensoever it assembled it self, did ever give more power to the representing body of it, than a binding power upon it self and all particulars; Nor ever did it give this power, otherwise, than with this Reservation in nature, that it would call again and reform, and if need were, abrogate any law or ordinances upon just cause made evident, that the representing Body had failed in trust or truth. And this power no Body collective, Ecclesiastical or Civil, can put out of it self, or give away to a Parliament or Council, or call it what you will, that represents it —The power which a Council hath to order, settle and define differences arising concerning faith, it hath not by any immediate institution of Christ, but it was prudently taken up by the Church from the Apostles example.*] See Dr. *Stillingfleets* Defence.

I confess that the generality of Politicians and Lawyers, Heathens, Papists and Protestants go much this way, as to Civil Government, and say that the *Majestas personalis* is in the King or Senate, but the *Majestas realis* in the Body which giveth the Organical power, and on just cause may take it away. It is no honour to be singular in Politicks, and I have said enough of this elsewhere (*Christ. Direct. p.* 1.) But if it be the Body of the whole Church on Earth that must give Church Officers and Councils their power, and recal it when there is cause, if ever

ever the whole Christian World meet together to vote it, when it cometh to Poling, we will give both the Monarchical and the Aristocratical Conciliar Papists three for one, to try who hath the power given by the Body. But while two or three parts do already disown almost all their Councils, the case is decided. But if an *old Councils* Heresies, Errours or Tyranny can be invalidated only by a *new one* that is *truly General*, or a new one as *Papal* as the last, we confess that *Trent* Canons are like to be the Law, to the end of the World.

§ 11. But again, what is it that maketh so many of the Laity serve the Popish Prelates universal claim, or keep up the destructive enmity and divisions of the Christian World? A stranger would think that it were chiefly caused by some great contrariety of real Interests, or that one party adhered to some principles or practices, which were really hurtful to the others rights? While both were serious for Christianity. But it is become by long experience notorious, that all the Christian Worlds calamitous divisions are principally from the old enmity between the *Womans* and the *Serpents Seed*, and that all is but the Prosecution of that which their first Patriarch *Cain* began: exemplified after in the discrimination of the Children of men and the Sons of God, and in *Esau* and *Jacob*, *Ishmael* and *Isaac*, and so down to the days of the

Apoſtles: And, ſaith *Paul*, *As he that was born after the fleſh, perſecuted him that was born after the ſpirit; even ſo it is now.* Among us it is notorious, that if we knew how to cure men of the radical Enmity of the fleſh againſt the ſpirit, and of a carnal minds averſeneſs to God and ſerious Godlineſs, the reſt of our differences were never like to continue our Wounds and cruel Factions.

In Families you may hear that this is the fundamental difference. Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Maſter and Servants, upon the meer account of ſerious Godlineſs, do live like Enemies, that are impatient of each other. If the Husband be ungodly, the Wife, Children or Servants that have but a care of their Salvation, are ſtill under his reſtraints, or frowns, or ſcorns: This praying (eſpecially if it be without Book) ſo much preaching and hearing; yea any ſerious talk of God, or Heaven, or Scripture, is a troubleſom wearineſs to him; and he tells them, it is but Hypocriſie, or more ado than needs: If any compaſſionately tell him of the evil of his ſwearing, or tipling, or prophaneneſs, he tells them they are preciſe Puritanes or Fanaticks, and worſe than he. If they will needs hear Sermons, he will have them go but to ſome cold or ignorant Preacher, or one that will pleaſe him with a calumny or ſcorn at Puritans, or that will ſay as he doth, that this ſtir for Salvation,

and

and medling ſo much with Scripture and Religion, is but proud, ſelf-conceited Fanaticiſm. In a word, it is ſerious Preaching, and Hearing, and Reading Gods Word, ſerious Praying, and Preparation for the Sacrament, ſerious Diſcourſe of the ſtate of their Souls, and Preparation for Death, Judgment and Eternity, ſerious fearing and avoiding ſin, and ſpeaking againſt the ſin of others, that is the common eye-ſore and trouble of the world, which they ſecretly hate, and cannot bear with in their Families, in their Neighbours, in Magiſtrates, in Miniſters or People.

And becauſe it eaſeth their minds by vent, and by keeping up ſome hopes that they may be ſaved without this ſerious Godlineſs themſelves, they cheriſh a conceit that the perſons that herein differ from them are as bad, if not much worſe than others; and gladly hear thoſe that ſlander and deride them: Such Company, ſuch Pamphlets, ſuch Sermons pleaſe them. And to make them odious, they have for them ſome contemptuous, ſcornful Nickname; which, though it be of no ſignification, is as effectual as the trueſt charge. Among the Roman Sects, do but call a man a Heretick, or Schiſmatick, a Lutheran, a Calviniſt, a Zwinglian; and elſewhere do but call him a Sectary, a Schiſmatick, a Puritan, a Calviniſt, a Nonconformiſt, an Independant, a Presbyterian, a Roundhead, a Fanatick, a Whig, and it ſerveth the

turn as well as if you had proved him a proud Hypocrite, or a Rebel. And there be among the real Schiſmaticks alſo ſome perſons, that if you do but call a man Epiſcopal, a Conformiſt, an Arminian, a Church of *England* man, that goeth to the Common-Prayer, they think that he muſt needs be a Temporizer, Graceleſs or Dangerouſly unſound.

And thus the miſeries of the Land are continued and increaſed. But becauſe the ſpirit of *Cain* is the Grand Incendiary, and the Enmity againſt *ſerious Holineſs* throughout all the world, is the principal cauſe of Diviſions, Hatred, Wars and Blood-ſhed, I will here annex many Reaſons which, with men that have any Reaſon left them, ſhould cure this *Malignant Enmity* to *Holineſs*, if men will but ſoberly conſider them.

I have ſaid ſo much to ſuch already, eſpecially in my *Saints Reſt*; *Now or Never*; my *Family Book*; and a *Saint* or a *Brute*, that I cannot do this work again without repeating much that's ſaid. But ſeeing all that doth not ſerve, and the Ulcer breaketh out more dangerouſly than ever, till it come to a *Noli me tangere*, we muſt continue ſome hope and uſe of means; and if we lay on freſh Plaiſters of the old materials, while only New Books are by ſuch regarded, we are bound to do our beſt: It is but ſo much labour loſt; and it is not utterly loſt to our ſelves, while we have peace of Conſcience in Gods acceptance. But

But being ſure to be miſreported when I have done my beſt to be underſtood, that I be not guilty of it, I will firſt ſhew what I mean by *ſerious Godlineſs*, and next what I mean by *Malignity* or *Enmity* to ſerious Godlineſs.

Chap. II. *Whom I mean by* Godly Perſons, *and* whom by Malignant *Enemies to Godlineſs*.

§ 1. BY GODLINESS I do not mean, 1. Any *Superſtition*, or making Religions, or Religious Duties which God never made, and extolling *theſe*, and the *Party* that are for them. God hath made us Religious work enough: Could we do that well, we need no more. Religion, ſo far as it is made by men, is no *Religion*, but a *contradiction* or *equivocation*; for *Religion* is our *Obligation* and *Duty to God*, and Conſcience of it. Could I be for *Superſtition*, or more Religion than God hath made us, I might be for all the New Religions of *Rome*, Franciſcans, Dominicans, Carthuſians, Jeſuits, Oratorians, and all the reſt: And I might be for their Works of Supererogation, their Maſſings, worſhiping Bread, Angels, dead Saints, Images, their Pilgrimages, Relicks, and all their pretended Traditions and Councils, their new made Church-

Church-Laws; and I ſhould know no end.

§ 2. And 2. By *Godlineſs* I mean not any *ſingular*, odd Opinion differing from the Scripture, and making a Sect, or any Errour whatſoever; nor any Opinion which is contrary to any thing which the whole Church on Earth did ever hold as neceſſary to Salvation or Communion.

§ 3. Nor 3. Do I mean any *Truth* or *Duty* of inferiour moment, which only makes to the well-being of a Chriſtian, though this be an *Inferiour part of Godlineſs*; at leaſt not that which a godly willing perſon knows not to be his duty.

§ 4. Much leſs 4. Do I mean any proud falſe conceit of a mans own Godlineſs, and becoming one of an unwarrantable Sect, that he may be conſpicuous to others, or cheriſh this preſumption in himſelf; and ſay to others, *Stand by, I am holier than thou:* Or as the Phariſee, *I thank thee Lord that I am not as this Publican:* (Though yet all that will be ſaved muſt greatly differ from the ungodly, and muſt with thankfulneſs own Gods grace.)

§ 5. Nor 5. Do I mean any unlawful practice, which on the pretence of Godlineſs may be done, whether unjuſt cenſures, backbiting, unwarrantable ſeparations from others, diviſions, diſobedience to Authority, Sedition, Rebellion, *&c.* Theſe are all contrary

to

to Godlineſs and true Religion. Chriſt is the ſtricteſt condemner of them, and Godlineſs the beſt cure. If any Godly or Religious perſon, be guilty of any one of theſe, 1. It cannot be as known and in a predominant degree; 2. And it is his Diſeaſe (as a Leproſie to a man) and not his Godlineſs.

§ 6. But by GODLINESS I mean only the *ſerious Conſent to, and Performance of the Covenant which we made with God in our Baptiſm*: That we ſeriouſly believe that *there is One only God, of moſt perfect Power, Knowledge and Goodneſs, our Creator, Maintainer, Governour and End; whom we muſt Obey, and Serve, and Love above all Creatures whatſoever; and that he is the Rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him, and will give everlaſting bleſſedneſs to the faithful, and everlaſtingly puniſh the ungodly. That we ſeriouſly believe that Jeſus Chriſt is the Redeemer and Saviour, who Teacheth, Ruleth, Pardoneth, Sanctifieth and Saveth all true penitent Believers; who is our Interceſſor, Head and Judge. That we ſeriouſly believe that the Holy Ghoſt indited and ſealed by his Gifts and Miracles the Doctrine and Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles*, now recorded in the Scriptures, and that he is ſent from the Father and the Son to Regenerate, Sanctifie, Comfort and Strengthen thoſe that ſhall be ſaved.

And that we ſeriouſly conſent to Love and Obey God our Father, Saviour and Sanctifier as his

his Creatures, Subjects and Children in these Relations, that we may be pardoned and saved by him. And that we be willing to forsake the Devil and his Works, and the World and Flesh, so far as they would tempt us to break this Covenant against God, and our Obedience and Salvation.

And lastly, *That we seriously or sincerely* (though not perfectly) *endeavour in our lives to keep this Covenant, preferring God in our Love and Obedience, and our Hopes of Life everlasting before all the pleasures and treasures of this World, and resisting the temptations of the Devil, World and Flesh, which would turn us from him, and from our Obedience and Hope: And that we truly* (though not perfectly) *trust God and our Redeemer for the Heavenly Glory which he hath promised.*

This is plainly, distinctly and fully what I mean by *Godliness* or *Holiness:* And such are the persons (though all imperfect, and of divers degrees) which I call *Saints* or *Godly*: He that feigneth me to mean any thing else, doth but abuse himself and me: If there be none such, there are no Christians, and all the Word of God is vain.

But every Duty commanded by God is a part of the matter of our Obedience and Religion, *viz.* As according to the first Commandment to take God for our God, to be absolutely Obeyed, Loved and Trusted, and to renounce all Idols, and neither to *Obey, Love*

Love or Truſt our ſelves or any creature before him; So alſo according to the ſecond Commandment, to renounce all ſcandalous ſymbolizing with Idolaters, in the outward worſhip of God in their ſinful way; eſpecially by Images, and other apearances of Idolatry: And that we worſhip God, according to his Word.

And according to the third Commandment, that we avoid all Prophanation of holy things; All Perjury, falſe Vows, and fathering falſhoods upon God or his Words, and raſh Swearing and Unreverent uſing of Gods Name, and turning his worſhip into a lifeleſs form.

And according to the fourth Commandment, that we worſhip God publickly in ſolemn aſſemblies, and devote the Lords day to holy exerciſes; that we ſearch the Scriptures, pray for what God hath promiſed, or commanded; Meditate and Confer of holy things, and celebrate the Sacraments in the Communion of Saints.

And ſo according to the ſecond Table that we honour and obey our Parents, and (as far as their right of Government reacheth) all other that God ſets over us: And diſhonour them not, nor obey Civil, Eccleſiaſtical or Domeſtical Uſurpers againſt them.

That we do our beſt to ſave our neighbours Life and Bodily welfare, againſt Murderers or Uſurpers; and hurt no mans life or health

health either violently or by *Jezabels* pretence of Juſtice.

That we keep our Senſes, Thoughts, Affections, Paſſions and Actions, from all unchaſtity and immodeſt laſciviouſneſs.

That we wrong no man in his eſtate, but to our power help them.

That we avoid all Injuſtice, Lying, falſe Witneſs, falſe Judgment and Oppreſſive, Unrighteous Government; And promote Truth and Juſtice to our power.

And laſtly that we love our Neighbour as our ſelves, and take his *welfare* and his *ſufferings* as our own, and do as we would have others do by us, and covet not to draw from him to our ſelves.

So that he that pretendeth to love God and Godlineſs, and obedience to Chriſt, and yet loveth not ſuch a life as this, he lieth, or ſays he knows not what.

And he that hateth men or oppoſeth them, for any one of all theſe duties, (for reading or hearing Gods Word, for praying for things promiſed, for holy Conference and Meditation, for ſanctifying the Lords day, for deſiring a Shepherd and not a Wolf; for abhorring prophaneneſs, and other great ſins) doth thereby declare that it is ſo much of Godlineſs or Obedience which he abhorreth; and it is through Ignorance doubtleſs if he ſeriouſly love and practiſe the reſt of Gods Commands.

§ 7.

§ 7. II. By *Malignant Enemies of Godlineſs*, 1. I do not mean every one that hath any backwardneſs to any duty, which he overcometh in the practice: Nor every one that is guilty of ſome omiſſions: The ſpirit is willing, and the fleſh is weak.

§ 8. 2. I mean not thoſe that are Godly in the main ſo far as they can know, but through education or otherwiſe are ignorant of ſome Integral Truths or Duties, and have an oppoſing contentious Zeal againſt them by miſtake; and by factious company are taught therefore to ſpeak evil falſly of thoſe from whom they differ. I hear ſome revile all even with terms of enmity and unchriſtian threatnings, yea ſeeking their ruine, who do not ſwear, ſay and practiſe all that is required to Engliſh Conformity. I do not conclude them therefore Malignant Enemies of Godlineſs, if they live *ſoberly*, *righteouſly* and *godlily* in their way, and prefer God before Men, Heaven before Earth, the Soul before the Body, and a Holy life before the pleaſures and profits of the fleſh. If they are uncharitable againſt all that are not for Dioceſans, Lay-Chancellours Excommunications, Symbolical Croſſing of Children as a Covenanting ſign of Chriſtianity, and all the reſt; I wiſh them more Charity, but I call them not *Malignant Enemies*.

I find Biſhop *Gunnings* Chaplain thinks that he doth *ſay well*, when he ſaith, that [*Not only*

only Murderers, Adulterers, Drunkards, but such " *Schismaticks as disturb the peace, and weaken* " *the authority of the Churches Discipline* (theirs) " *are to be excommunicated and reckoned among* " *Heathens and Publicans; and Enemies to the* " *Gospel of Christ* (if they preach it without a " Dioceſanes licenſe.) p. 214. *And that it is* " *already our case, that it's a very difficult mat-* " *ter to find a Jury and Witnesses especially a-* " *mong the Dissenters, upon whose credit we may* " *rely.*) All this signifieth how little blind Faction is to be believed, and how far it conquereth even humane modesty and veracity: But yet I difference it from the *Enmity* to *Godliness* which I speak of. And that you may see that he is no *Papist*, though for a *Forreign Jurisdiction*, he tells you of *Cromwell* that [*There is too great, reason to suspect that he intended to settle Popery in the Nation, when matters had been ripe to go through with it.*] I confeſs this is news to me: I have roundly told him to his face of his Disloyalty in deposing our *English* Monarchy, and told the world then of his treacherous Usurpation, but it never came into my thoughts that he intended to *settle Popery in the Nation.* But if these words come from Clergy Truth and Modesty, they are very considerable. I hope the old Royalists will be against *Popery* the more if *Cromwel* was for it: And the *Papists* I hope will be no more angry with Dr. *Moulin* that answereth *Philanax Anglicus*, for making

ing the Kings death to be cauſed and concluded by the Papiſts, if *Cromwel* was for them. But Faction will face men down, that Snow is black.

So on the other ſide, I hear ſome that are againſt Infant Baptiſm, ſharply cenſure all that are not of their mind; And ſome oversharply cenſure the Prelatiſts and Conformiſts; And almoſt all the Chriſtian world is divided into parties, that too little ſtick at the injurious cenſuring of others; The Papiſts, Greeks, Abaſſines, Armenians, Neſtorians, Jacobites, *&c.* And among the Papiſts, the Dominicans and Moliniſts, and Janſenians, *&c.* And among the Proteſtants, too many. This is no ſmall ſin, but it is not that enmity to Godlineſs it ſelf which I mean.

§ 9. 3. And I mean not by *malignity*, mens *Differences* in *Civil* and *Political Controverſies*. Though I take Popery to be half a Civil Controverſy, and to be unſufferable by ſuch Princes and People whom they bind themſelves to depoſe and deſtroy: And that to Subject all the Chriſtian world to the Legiſlative, Judicial and Executive Government of one Pope, or one *Prætorian Court*, is no better than to proclaim ſuch a Pope or Court, to be publick enemies and uſurpers to all Chriſtian Princes and States. But yet abundance of Political differences may conſiſt with ſerious Piety: My reaſon is, becauſe

God hath not made Political Controverſies ſo clear as that all good Chriſtians can reſolve them. Neither the Light of Nature, nor the Bible, nor Tradition endeth them. Nor hath he put them into our Creed or the ten Commandments, nor laid mens Salvation on them, as he hath done on the Eſſentials of Religion: Nor commanded all men to be ſo well Skill'd in Statute Books and Common Law as to be able to know which party is in the right. And therefore I joyn not with thoſe Clergy or Lay-Gentlemen, who damn all that are not of their mind and ſide, in differences of that nature.

I often hear ſome ſay that Kings and States do all receive their Authority from the Body of the Nation who are the chief ſeat of it. So *Hooker*, ſo *Laud*, and indeed as aforeſaid, ſo Heathen, Papiſt and Proteſtant Politicks ordinarily hold: I call not all theſe *malignants*, though I am fully ſatisfied, 1. That God is the Inſtituter of Magiſtracy *in genere*. 2. And that he hath ſo far ſpecified it as to determine of its unchangeable Eſſentials (that they ſhall as his Officers promote obedience to the ten Commandments.) 3. And that he never gave this governing power to the people. 4. But that all that the people do is, 1. To ſpecify it as to the number of perſons (a Monarchy, Ariſtocracy or, mixt of theſe and ſome Democracy.) 2. To limit it by determining of the Degrees of power,

power, about Property and Liberty, and all things which Gods Law hath left undetermined, and mutable. 3. And to determine of the perſons and Families that ſhall receive the immutable power from God and the mutable from men.

I often hear ſome moſt magnify Democracy, and ſome Ariſtocracy, and ſome Monarchy, and ſome a mixture; and ſome *Engliſh* Clergy men are for a Civil Monarchy Subject to a Catholick Clergy-Ariſtocracy: I call none *Malignants* for any ſuch differences.

I find ſome Papiſts and Proteſtants Politick writers ſaying that when it proveth hurtful to the Common-wealth, the people may retract the power given the Prince, and change the Government, and *Hooker* ſaith, *No doubt in ſuch a caſe a Prince will part with it*: And A. Biſhop *Laud*, before cited, ſaith of the like, and abrogating Laws, *This power no Body Collective Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, can put out of it ſelf and give away*, And I find many that extol *Hooker* and *Laud*, call this a principle of Rebellion. It is neither of them that I call *Malignants*.

I find moſt writers of Politicks agreed that the Law of nature Alloweth and Commandeth Kingdoms and Commonwealths *ſelf-defence againſt any publick Enemies that ſeek to deſtroy them*. And that no man on pretence of Right to a Crown hath any right to de-

ſtroy the body of the people, or the *Bonum publicum* which is the Eſſentiating end of Government, nor can be *ſimul rex & publicus hoſtis.* I hear others take this for an unchriſtian doctrine of Rebellion, and ſay, that if a King would deſtroy all the people of a Kingdom (in revenge, or in ſiding with another Kingdom of his own or anothers,) they ought not to reſiſt him, or any that he Commiſſioneth to do it: And that if he ſhould Commiſſion a few men to kill all the Parliament as they ſit, or to burn the City, it is Rebellion to reſiſt by ſelf-defence. I hear Lawyers themſelves at great difference on ſuch matters, ſome for more power, and ſome for leſs: I find the great Defenders of Monarchy, ſuch as *Barclay* and *Grotius de Jure Belli*, naming many caſes in which Kings may be reſiſted, yea and forfeit all: And I find others among us of a contrary mind. Yea I find the *Conformable* and *Dioceſane* Pillars quite differ in ſuch caſes, Biſhop *Bilſon* naming many caſes in which reſiſtance is no rebellion, (*To Subject his Kingdom to a Forreign Realm, or to change the form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, or neglect the Laws Eſtabliſhed by common conſent of Prince and People, to execute his own pleaſure; In theſe and other ſuch caſes which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons joyn together to defend their ancient and accuſtomed Liberty, Regiment & Laws, they may not well be counted Rebels,* ſaith he

he, *of Obedience*, pag. 520.) But I hear many now ſay the contrary, and Condemn ſuch Doctrine as diſloyal.

I find ſome joyn with the Papiſts in accuſing the Reformation as cauſed by Rebellions, in *Germany*, *Geneva*, *France*, *Belgium*, &c. And I find Biſhop *Jewel*, *Bilſon*, and other Biſhops defending the *French* defence, and Dr. *Peter Moulin* of *Canterbury* in his anſwer to *Philanax Anglicus*, Contradicting their accuſers, as falſe in Point of Hiſtory.

Abundance of ſuch Political Controverſies are now lately agitated, ſome charging their adverſaries with Rebellion, and ſome with Tyranny: Some ſaying, they are guilty of Treaſon againſt the King; and others, They are Traitors againſt the Kingdom: And too ordinarily damning one another; as if theſe matters were Articles of our Creed.

What a diſmal difference is there now about thoſe words in the Declaration in the Corporation Act; [*There is no Obligation on me or any other perſon, from the Oath called the ſolemn League and Covenant: Some ſay there are none but Rebels will refuſe it; And that if any obligation had been granted to things lawful or neceſſary ſome would have extended it to Rebellion or Schiſm.* And therefore all Obligation is to be renounced. Others ſay, that National perjury is a forerunner of National Calamity or ruine; and that where Oaths bind not, there can be no Truſt; and

no Truſt, no Commerce: And they think as Dr. *Sanderſon*, and Caſuiſts, Papiſts and Proteſtants do, that though an Oath or Vow be unlawfully Impoſed and Sinfully taken, and part of the matter of it be unlawful, and the Impoſers and Takers are bound to repent, and no one is bound by it to the unlawful part, yet the taker is bound to that part of the matter which is lawful or neceſſary: And they take it to be lawful and neceſſary to *Repent of ſin*, to *oppoſe Prophaneneſs, Schiſms, Hereſy and Popery, to defend the King*, and therefore that it obligeth them to theſe.

I meddle not with the Roman opinion that it is the Henrician Hereſy to ſay that Kings have a power of inveſting Biſhops, and diſobeying the Popes Excommunication; and of ſuch as Cardinal *Perron* that dare not queſtion or deny the power of the Pope and Councils to Excommunicate and depoſe Kings, becauſe then they muſt condemn approved General Councils, which are their religion itſelf, and (ſaith he) muſt grant that the Pope is Antichriſt, and the Church erroneous that hath ſo long uſed this.

I name all theſe Political Controverſies,

1. To tell you that it is not factious and paſſionate enmity to each other on ſuch accounts, which I mean by enmity to Religion.

2. And to remember men, that if in ſo many and great points of Politicks and Government

vernment, the Learned and Christian World, have so great difference, what reason is there that we should Damn or Excommunicate, or hate each other about a hard opinion in Religion, or a Ceremony.

3. And to tell the Popish Church, that if it were a good argument that there must be one Pretorian Court or Church, to oblige all the World by an universal determination in what sence to expound the Scripture, because it is abused to errour by mens mistake, and there must be an end of Controversies; by the same reason there must be an universal Pretorian Court to expound all human Laws, and end the controversies of Lawyers; Yea and to master all mens Reason; for Scripture is no more commonly controverted and abused than Law is; And not half so much as *Reason* is, which is pleaded for almost all the falshood and wickedness in the World.

§ 10. Moreover it is not personal feuds between Man and Man that I mean by *Enmity* to Godliness: No though any such be against an Innocent and Godly Man, where it is not for his Godliness, but some other difference.

§ 11. I will say more though some dislike it, it is not a Papist as such that I mean by a *Malignant* Enemy of Godliness: I know that Education, and Temptation, and want of hearing the confutation of their errours judiciously made, may cause Godly persons

to think that the univerſal Church muſt be united in ſome humane Head or Soveraign power; and that there is no other way to end controverſies and ſchiſms, and that (as Dr. *Saywell* ſaith) there muſt be ſome over Kingdoms or National Churches, as well as over particular perſons, that many may not eſcape while a few are puniſhed: It is eaſy to be deceived by the pretences of Unity and Concord, while men ſee the diviſions and diſcords of others: And the falſe pretences of Antiquity are ſo confidently uttered by their Clergy, that men unacquainted with the hiſtory may verily believe them: And the plea for an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of Miniſterial ordination, and that a Superior muſt give power to the Inferiors, deceiveth many. If there muſt be a Dioceſane to ordain and rule all Presbyters, and a Metropolitan to ordain or rule the Dioceſanes, and a Patriarch to rule them, from whom ſhall the Patriarchs receive their power, or commands, but from a Pope? The poor reaſoning which the French now uſe with the Proteſtants puzleth unskilful perſons; *viz. Was there any Church before your reformation? If yea, where was it? And had not you your Miniſterial power from it? It was* Rome *or none: And if it was the true Church then, it is ſo now.* We anſwer them, there was and is one only Catholick Church: Of this Chriſt only is the Head or Univer-

ſal

ſal governour, and no man or men; Of this all Lawful Paſtors are his official guides in their ſeveral Provinces, as many Juſtices and Mayors of Corporations under one King: That all theſe having one King (Jeſus) and one Law (of Chriſt) and one Spirit, and one Faith and Hope, are to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and to uſe Synods when needful to that end, but not as a Pretorian or Regent Ariſtocracy or Court. That the Church before *Luther* was all over the World where ever there were Chriſtians: in *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, *Circaſſia*, *Aſia*, and where ever the Greek Chriſtianity is, in *Moſcovy*, and in all *Europe* where there were true Chriſtians. That the envious man having ſowed Tares, this Church is unhappily fallen into many corruptions, diſeaſes, and factious ſects, almoſt all cenſuring one another: no part of it is perfect: That the Papal part is in Doctrine, Worſhip and Government one of the moſt corrupted parts! Yet ſo far as their diſeaſes or errours nullify not their profeſſion of Chriſtianity, they are parts, though leprous. And therefore though they are the moſt uncharitable and ſchiſmatical part, as they cut off or unchurch all the Chriſtian World ſave themſelves, yet being as *Chriſtians* united to the reſt in the common faith, their Baptiſm & Ordinations are not nullities as they inveſt men in the Chriſtian

Christian Society and Christian Ministry; though that part of them is a nullity which engageth men in a schism and in sin. That the Ministerial power is not the gift of Man, but only of Christ, who by the Charter of his recorded Word, giveth the power and the obligation to that person who is duely chosen and called thereto: As the Kings Charter giveth the power to the Mayor of a Corporation duly qualified and chosen: that the ordainers are but partly Judges of due qualification, and partly Ministerial Investers, and not at all the Donors of the Power: that ordination is for order sake needful, when it may be had to keep men from being Judgers of their own sufficiency: But *order* being only for the *thing ordered*, (as the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath) is not necessary against the end. That there is no necessity that a Superior must ordain: but as the Colledge of Physicians, Philosophers, *&c.* make Physicians, Philosophers as approved, so may equals in the Ministry: Do not Bishops make or consecrate Bishops. If this were not so, who makes the Pope? If he did not pretend that his power is given him immediately from Christ, he must grant that there are some men above him to give it him, and so he is not the Soveraign. If they say that the power of Popes (and Kings) is given by the whole body (the Church) he

he is then no Pope: for it's known that three parts of the Chriſtian World are againſt him. If he will ſay, None are the Church but thoſe that are his party, any ſect or rebels may ſay the like, and appropriate authority to themſelves.

Nothing more cheateth the ignorant, than ambiguous words, and confuſion: And explaining thoſe words, and needful plain diſtinction, would ſave the writing of many volumes, and would make truth eaſily meet the ſeeker, and unravel all the ſpider Webs of deceivers.

Do but well uſe theſe few diſtinctions and all Popery vaniſheth into ſmoak. 1. Diſtinguiſh between a Catholick Church as headed by Chriſt; (This we are all members of;) and a pretended Catholick Church, headed by the Pope or any men: This is another Church as to the denominating form, having another informing, unifying head: And this is it which we deny.

2. Diſtinguiſh viſibility: Chriſts Church is ſo far viſible as to have a Head who was viſible on Earth, is viſible in Heaven, and will viſibly come to Judgment, and viſibly reign for ever. It hath viſible Laws, Protection and Officers; The ſubjects bodies and their profeſſion are viſible; And it is no farther viſible; no not as to the *Souls* or *real faith* of the ſubjects. The Papiſts Church hath an Uſurping Viſible Humane Head on earth. 3. Di-

3. Distinguish of Baptism and Ordination as into Christs Catholick Church, and done by Papists as Christians; And as into the Popes Catholick Church and done by Papists as Papists.

4. Distinguish of *Subjection*, and *Communion*: We owe Communion when we owe no Subjection, and where men have no right to be our Governours.

5. Distinguish between Communion in Christianity, and that in Essentials, Integrals or Accidents; and Communion in errours and corruptions, or defects. We have Communion with Papists and all Christians in Christianity, (if they be Christians indeed:) But we renounce Communion in the errours and sins of them and all others, as far as we are able to avoid them. All Christians have Union and Communion in the Essentials of Christianity: No Christians have Union and Communion in all the Integrals (on Earth) all being imperfect: But the more such Union and Communion, the better. No Christians have, or ought to have Communion in all the Accidents. All should avoid Communion in sin.

6. Distinguish between Communion of Hearts, Communion of Profession, and Communion in Local presence: We have Heart Communion in one Essential Faith, Hope and Love with all true Christians on Earth. We *profess* all one Faith in the Essentials:

We

We have nearer Communion, or fuller with the Reformed Churches which are ſoundeſt in the Integrals, than we have with the more faulty and corrupt. But we have Local preſence but in one place at once; and we ought to avoid Local preſence where we cannot have it without ſin, though we have Communion in Faith, Love and Profeſſion with the ſame men. If a Reformed Church will not admit our Local preſence without ſubſcribing ſome one untruth, we muſt be abſent, when we may be preſent with a worſe Church which excludeth us not by any ſuch Impoſition.

7. Accordingly diſtinguiſh of Separation: We ſeparate not at all from *Union* or *Communion* with Papiſts as they are Chriſtians, or as they hold any Truth: But 1. We ſeparate from *Subjection* and *Obedience* to them, which we never owed them, or any other Church. 2. We ſeparate from Communion with their Church, as it is a Policy informed by an Uſurping Humane King or Head. 3. We ſeparate from all their ſins ſo far as we know them. 4. We deny Local preſence in their Maſs-worſhip, becauſe of the ſin impoſed on us, both before it, and in it. 5. We are uncapable of Communion in all accidents, or mutable indifferent things.

Underſtand and uſe well theſe few plain diſtinctions, and you need little more to anſwer all the Papiſts.

And

And I fear not to add, that were the Papists in my power (as I never did) I never would use any inhumanity or cruelty towards them; yea, I would use no *Offensive*, but only *Defensive* force against them; nor hurt one of them, further than they made it necessary for the Defence of the Land, or those whom they would hurt.

I knew not till a Book called *The Liberties of England* lately told me, how many very severe Laws are against them. I am no Judge of the times that they were made in, nor of their occasions: But I think that of late they have *done more hurt* than good: For 1. Some of them seem too severe. 2. Some I cannot prove to be justifiable; *viz.* Those which would compel them to come to our Sacramental Communion, when many a good Minister would not receive them if they came: And that which excommunicateth them that never were of our Communion: And that which layeth the Excommunicate as such in prison, *&c.* 3. It greatly tendeth to misinform Forreigners, who seeing these Laws, think they are all put in Execution; and so believe those that tell them, that the Catholicks here are under constant Cruelties, and frequent Martyrdoms; whenas I never in all my life knew of one Papist that suffered so much for his Religion, as I have done my self, within these few years past, though my sufferings

are

are ſo ſmall as to be no meet matter of very great complaint. 4. Theſe Laws being a continual danger to them (ſhould there be Governours that would execute them) doth put them on continual plotting and ſtriving againſt them. Sufferings, or great dangers, put men by fear upon ſelf-defence, and the utmoſt endeavours for deliverance, who would be more quiet if they found themſelves in ſafety; and though their Clergy would be ſtill plotting the recovery of the Papal power, to ſubject King and Kingdom to the Sacred King of *Rome*, yet the Laity would be leſs againſt the common Peace, when they found that it was their own Peace.

§ 12. I have told you what I mean not by *Malignant Enmity to Godlineſs*; I tell you now what I mean by it; *viz.*

When the blindneſs and ungodlineſs of corrupted Nature, increaſed by practice into Serpentine Enmity, and turning mens hearts by unbelief and diſaffection from God and Heaven, doth poſſeſs them with a deep diſlike of a holy, heavenly and ſpiritual life; firſt as to their own practices, and then as it is in others; and becauſe it is againſt their worldly hopes and fleſhly luſts, they hate it, and reject it themſelves, and then hate and maliciouſly oppoſe it in others; yea though Law, Cuſtom, and worldly Intereſt draw them formally to profeſs Chriſtianity and Obedience to Gods Laws, and to Vow that in Baptiſm, they hate the ſerious performance of

their

their own Profeſſion and Vows; and would be glad to drive it out of the world, and to ſet up Hypocriſie and Ceremony, or a Stage Religion and Mummery, or the toothleſs Maſs and Formalities in its ſtead: And if cuſtom or ſhame hinder them from perſecuting or ſcorning Truth and Godlineſs in its proper name, they will ſhew their mind by theſe things following.

1. They will ſet up ſome worldly, fleſhly Intereſt (like the Papal Kingdom) which is contrary to the Chriſtian and holy Intereſt; and then they will perſecute *Chriſtians* not *as Chriſtians*, nor *as Godly* in name, but as ſuch indeed by pleading Conſcience and Obedience to God, againſt their inconſiſtent intereſt and ways.

2. Among all that are againſt their carnal falſe intereſt, they will cull out the more ſerious godly perſons to afflict.

3. Among all the faithful, they will cull out thoſe who do Chriſt moſt ſervice in the world; becauſe Chriſts ſervice is it that is their diſſervice, and oppoſite to their ſin.

4. They will make a ſcorn of their very Religious duties, and take up mimical deriſions, to make them ſeem ridiculous or contemptible.

5. When they can charge them with no crimes, they will purpoſely make Nets to catch them, as the Enemies of *Daniel* did by him, *Dan. 6.* And as the Spider makes her curious Webs to catch and kill the Flies.

6. Yea

6. Yea they will *make faults* by ſlander, and lies, if not by perjuries, if they can find none.

7. Yea their virtue, piety and innocency ſhall be all called Hypocriſie; and when they cannot accuſe their actions, they will accuſe their hearts and ſecret thoughts, and judge them as if they had a Caſement into their breaſts.

8. Yea if their innocency cannot be ſo ſtained, they will hate them ſo much the more, becauſe they cannot tread down their reputation.

9. They will ſearch after, and aggravate all the failings of Religious people, and turn them into crimes.

10. If any one of them, or an Hypocrite, that's like them, be guilty of any notable fall, they will perſwade men that all the reſt of their lives is like that crime; yea and that all that profeſs much ſeriouſneſs in Godlineſs, are as bad as they; that all the reſt of the life of *Noah*, *Lot*, *David*, *Solomon*, *&c.* were as bad as the criminal part; and that all the Servants of Chriſt are *Peter's*, or *Judas's*.

11. That it is not their ſins, but their piety which they hate, you will ſee in that they live in far greater ſin themſelves, and take it to be no great harm, but hate thoſe that reprove them.

12. And they make light of the common

crimes of others. They can bear with an Atheiſt, an Infidel, a Drunkard, a prophane Swearer, a derider of Godlineſs, yea a Perſecutor, a Fornicator, a man of no Religion, if he will but be for them, and ſerve their intereſt, and will not ſcruple Communion with ſuch: But men never ſo ſober, juſt and godly, that croſs their wills and carnal ways, they cannot endure: And if they be ſuch Clergy-men, as the world hath too many, ſuch ſerious Godly men, for diſliking their ungodlineſs, are made the common objects of their Pulpit and diſcourſing ſcorn or accuſations, and perhaps are excommunicate *ipſo facto*, for diſſenting from their Opinions or Wills.

13. Such uſually in former ages have been the chief Inſtigators of Princes and Rulers, to hate men of ſerious Religion, and to ſtir up Perſecution againſt them, and to render ſuch odious to the world as Hereticks or intolerable Villains. O what difference is there between the true narratives of the Lives of *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, and abundance ſuch, and the odious lies and defamations written of them by ſome others. Yea, thoſe who commend *Melanctthon*, *Bucer*, and many ſuch for Learning and Moderation, hate their Doctrine of Reformation and ſerious Piety.

14. And you may note, that in any ſlander of a Godly man, they will ſooner believe one or two ignorant malicious Drunkards

kards againſt them, that never knew them; than the teſtimonies of hundreds of moſt faithful perſons who praiſe and vindicate them, though they better knew them.

15. They ſeldom give the accuſed leave to ſpeak for themſelves before they believe Accuſations againſt them; but conclude that they are as bad as back-biting malice reporteth them behind their backs.

16. They are glad to hear of any infamy of Religious perſons, and loth to hear them praiſed without contradiction; and are glad to hear of any ſuffering which befals them.

17. If there be any publick differences in a Church, City or Land, they are uſually againſt that ſide, which moſt favoureth ſerious Godlineſs, be they who they will. If the King, Parliament, and Biſhops will be for the perſons and ways of ſoberneſs, juſtice and ſerious Godlineſs, they would be on the other ſide. And they will cry up any that will cry them down, or would oppreſs them.

18. Laſtly, The quality of the Enemies may help with the reſt to tell what it is that they are againſt: when it is the generality of worldlings, proud, ambitious men, ſenſual drunkards, gluttons, fornicators, prophane and irreligious, who hate Godlineſs ſo far, as to drive it from themſelves and families, and rather venture on Hell fire, than be truly godly; it's eaſie to know what theſe hate in others.

I have told you who I mean by *Malignant Enemies of Godlineſs*, that the miſtakers and ſlanderers of my words may have no excuſe. Could we now but prevail againſt this Cainiſm, or Deviliſm, it would do much to recover the Peace of many Nations of the Earth: But Chriſt hath told us, that this Enmity between the ſeed of the Woman and the Serpent, of which *Cain* and *Abel* were the firſt ſpecimen ſince the Fall, will never ceaſe till Chriſt come, as is terribly deſcribed, 2 *Theſ.* 1. 6, 10, 11, 12. and *Matth.* 25. But yet ſome *Sauls* may become *Pauls*, and for the hope of the recovery of ſuch, I will adjoyn ſuch Reaſons as ſhould convince any that have the uſe of Reaſon left.

Chap. III. *Undeniable Reaſons againſt Malignant Enmity to ſerious Godlineſs.*

1. TO deny that there is a God who is the Supreme Governour of Man, is to be mad in deſpight of the whole world which proveth it: And it depoſeth all Kings, who claim their Authority as given them by God, and as his Officers; for if there be no God, there's none to give them Authority: And to grant that there is a God, and yet deny him our love, honour and obedience, is to ſpeak groſs contradiction, or elſe profeſs

open

open malice againſt God himſelf. If he be God, he is perfectly *Wiſe*; and ſhould not perfect Wiſdom govern us? If he be God, he is perfectly *Good*, and mans chief Benefactor; and ſhould he not then have our chiefeſt Love? If he be God, he is of abſolute Power; and ſhould he not then be obeyed? If he be God, he made us, and ſtill maintaineth us, and we live continually by his will, and have all that we have of his bounty; and we, and all we have are wholly his own; and is not then all our thanks and ſervice due to him? If he be God, he is our Judge, and will be juſt in puniſhing and rewarding; and ſhould we not then ſerve him with the greateſt fear, and with the higheſt hopes? Theſe things are undeniable.

Dare any man that believeth there is a God, ſay, that man can Love him too much? or too much honour him, or obey him? Can we return him more than his due? It is therefore no leſs than practical Atheiſm, or elſe a rebellious defiance of God, to blame or hate men, for loving, honouring and ſerving him to the very utmoſt of their power. And to deny God, or defie him, is a thouſand fold more damnable ſin and treaſon, than to deny and defie the King, or your own Parents.

2. God hath himſelf commanded man, to Love him with all his heart, and ſoul, and might; and to obey him with his

greateſt fidelity and diligence, and to fear him more than any creature, and to place our chiefeſt hopes on his promiſed rewards, and to ſeek firſt his Kingdom and Righteouſneſs, and not to ſin wilfully to ſave our lives, or gain all the world, *Deut.* 6. 5, 6, 7. & 10. 12. & 11, 12, 13, 14. *Mat.* 22. 37. *Heb.* 11. 6. 1 *Cor.* 15. 58. *Luke* 12. 4. *Heb* 12. 28, 29. *Mat.* 10. 39, 42. & 16. 25, 26. & 6. 33. *Luke* 14. 26, 33. *Mat.* 5. 19, 20. And the Law of Nature ſpeaks no leſs. And if God command it, and you condemn it, do you not condemn God? If you command your Son, or Servant, or Subject any thing, he that blames him for obeying you, blames you more than him. If it be a fault of folly to love and ſerve God with all our heart, and mind, and might, the fault or folly would be Gods that requireth it, and not ours. And, is ſuch a blaſphemer meet for humane Society, who will accuſe his Maker? If God be blame-worthy, he is not perfect: And if he be not perfect, he is not God: And ſo to be againſt our utmoſt obedience, doth amount to no leſs than Blaſphemy or Atheiſm.

3. Do you think that Man is a creature that needs to be blamed for loving or obeying God too much? Do you not know that Nature is vitiated by ſin, and Man is now backward to God, and all that's good and holy? You may as well blame a lame man for

for running too fast, as a sinful man for obeying God too much. It's more foolish than to blame a sick man for working or eating too much that can do neither? Or to hold a man in a Consumption from going up the Hill too fast? Do you find your own hearts so forward to a holy life, as that you need pulling back or hinderance, when no exhortation or necessity will perswade you to it? And if you need no such reproof or stop, why should you think others need it? Do you not use to say that all men are sinners? And do sinners need to be blamed for obedience? Do you not daily confess that you have done the things which you ought not to have done, and left undone the things that you ought to have done, and there is no health in you; And yet will you blame men for too much Obedience? It seems then that your Confessions of sin are Professions of it; and while you tell what you have done, you do but tell what you mean to do, and what you would have all others do: or else you blame your selves for sinning, and hate your Neighbours for not sinning.

4. If you hate men for holiness and avoiding sin, you hate Jesus Christ most: for he was most holy, and free from all sin: And you hate the Angels and all in Heaven, for they are holy and void of all transgression.

5. Have you any better Maſter to ſerve than God? or any better work to do than he commandeth, or any better thing to ſeek and hope for than he hath promiſed? If not, ſhould not the beſt be preferred. What do you love and ſeek your ſelves? Is money or fleſhly pleaſure better than God and Heaven? Is Sin and Senſuality a better employment than his Service? Is your fleſh and luſt a better maſter? Compare them, and we are content that the beſt be preferred.

6. Why do you take on you to believe in Chriſt, if you be againſt holineſs, and for ſin? Chriſt came into the world to die for ſin, to ſhew Gods hatred of it: And would you have us wilfully to commit it, and to deſpiſe his Blood? He came to deſtroy the works of the Devil; and will you plead for them? He came by his Doctrine, example and grace to bring man to holy obedience: And do you hate men for the ſame, and yet call your ſelves Chriſtians?

7. How dangerouſly do you draw towards the ſin againſt the Holy-Ghoſt, if you hate or blame men for being holy, or ſeeking to be ſuch; when it is all the work of the Holy-Ghoſt on mens Souls to make them holy? It's a dangerous thing to hate the work of the Holy-Ghoſt; and as it were defy him, and do deſpite to him.

8. Are you not your ſelves in your bap-

tiſm

tiſm Vowed and Devoted to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, renouncing the world, the Fleſh and the Devil? And do you hate men for being ſuch as you have vowed to be your ſelves? And do you think that God will not ſeverely reckon with you for ſuch Perjury and baſe Perfidiouſneſs.

9. Do you not in your daily hypocritical devotions condemn your ſelves by your own tongues? Do you not pray that the *reſt of your lives may be Pure and Holy*? And at the ſame time hate Purity and Holineſs? Do you not pray that *Gods will may be done on Earth as it is done in Heaven?* And can we have a higher, purer pattern? Do you know any that doth Gods will better than it's done in Heaven? Or is it not damnable hypocriſy to pray for that which you hate, and hate all men that deſire and endeavour it? When you ſay or hear all the ten Commandments, you pray, [*Lord have mercy upon us and incline our hearts to keep this Law*:] And do you hate men for endeavouring to keep it? If you come to the Lords Table, you confeſs your ſins, and bind your ſelves in Covenant to forſake them, and to live a holy life, and you take the Sacrament upon it; And the Liturgy warneth you to take heed that you diſſemble not, nor be *hinderers of Gods holy word, leſt the Devil enter into you as he did into* Judas, *and fill you with all unrighteouſneſs*. And if you hate or oppoſe that holy obedience to God

God which you profeſs, after all this, what muſt be the portion of ſuch hypocrites? And in your Creed you profeſs to believe in God, the Father, Son and Holy-Ghoſt, and to hold a Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints; And yet do you hate Saints that obey the Father, Son and Holy-Ghoſt, and hate their Communion?

10. Hath not God printed on mans nature ſuch a ſenſe of the difference between Good and Evil, as that all Laws and Government are founded in that ſenſe? And no man loveth to be counted or called a bad or ungodly, or unconſcionable man: A Lyar, a Knave, a Perjured man or a wicked man: And yet do you hate men for avoiding wickedneſs?

11. Do not you uſe to accuſe Religious men of ſome ſin or other. (Truly or falſly) and think by that to make them odious? And yet do you accuſe them, and hate them moſt for not ſinning? To be Sober, Juſt and Godly is but to avoid ſins of Omiſſion and Commiſſion. And do you at once accuſe them as ſinners and hate them for obeying God, and ſinning no more?

12. Doth it never affright you to find the Devils nature in you, as hating the Divine or holy nature which is in faithful Godly men? And to think how openly you ſerve the Devil, and do his work? No man that

believeth

believeth there are Devils can doubt, but that the hatred of God, as holy, and the hatred of his holy Word, and Work, and Servants, is the Devils malignity, and the oppoſing of them his work. If he were to write you his Commandments, they would be contrary to Gods, and the chief of them ſhould be, [*Thou ſhalt not Love God, nor ſerve him with all thy Heart, and Soul, and Might, nor Love thoſe that do ſo; but hate, deride, oppoſe and perſecute them.* And is it honourable openly to ſerve the Devil? Chriſt tells ſuch men, *Joh.* 8. That the Devil is their Father, becauſe they have his nature, and that his work they do, for he was from the beginning a Lyar, and a Malignant Murderer, and turned man from obeying God. And can you think that he loveth you, or that his Service againſt God is better than Gods; or his reward better?

13. Doth it never touch your Conſciences to conſider that you are the Children and followers of curſed *Cain*; and how punctually his caſe againſt *Abel*, and yours againſt Gods Servants is the ſame? *By faith* Abel *offered to God a more excellent ſacrifice than* Cain, *by which he obtained witneſs that he was righteous, God teſtifying of his Gifts; and by it he being dead, yet ſpeaketh*, Heb. 11. 4. *Cain* hated him becauſe God more accepted him and his offering; 1 *Joh.* 3. 10, 11, 12. *In this the Children of God are manifeſt, and the Children*

dren of the Devil: Whoever doth not righteouſneſs is not of God, nor he that loveth not his Brother: For this is the meſſage that ye heard from the beginning, that we ſhould love one another: Not as Cain, *who was of that wicked one, and ſlew his Brother: And wherefore ſlew he him? becauſe his own works were evil and his brothers righteous.*

14. Is it poſſible that any man can unfeignedly believe a Heaven as the reward of holy obedience, and yet think we can do too much to obtain it, or be too careful to make it ſure? Is not everlaſting glory worth the coſt of a holy life? Or can it be too dearly bought?

15. Or is it poſſible to believe Gods Judgment, and Hells Puniſhment, and yet to hate thoſe that do their beſt according to Gods own Counſel to eſcape it?

16. What monſtrous cruelty is it in you to wiſh poor Souls to do that which God hath told us they ſhallbe damned for? God ſaith, *Without holineſs none ſhall ſee God,* Heb. 12. 14. *Except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, you ſhall in no wiſe enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,* Mat. 5. 20. *Bleſſed are the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God,* Mat. 5. *If ye live after the Fleſh ye ſhall die, but if by the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the Body, ye ſhall live,* Rom. 8. 7, 8. 13. *What manner of perſons ought ye to be in all holy*

Converſation

Converſation and Godlineſs? 2 Pet. 3. 11. *We receiving a Kingdom which cannot be moved, let us ſerve God acceptably, with Reverence and Godly fear, for our God is a Conſuming Fire,* Heb. 12. 28, 29. *Be ſtedfaſt, unmoveable always abounding in the work of the Lord, foraſmuch as you know that your Labour is not in vain in the Lord,* 1 *Cor.* 15. 58. This is the very tenor of the Goſpel: And would you wiſh men to damn their Souls for nothing? To loſe Heaven, and ſuffer Hell for ever, and all to avoid a pure and holy life? What a bloody motion is this? Worſe than if you intreated us all to cut our own throats. Let us try firſt whether you will do far leſs at our requeſt? Will you give the poor all your Lands and Eſtates? Will you run into Fire or Water, or ſet your own houſes on fire when any will but deſire it? It's like you have heard of the Woman who being tempted to adultery, deſired the tempter firſt to hold his Finger in the Fire for her; Which when he refuſed, ſhe told him, it was leſs reaſon ſhe ſhould burn in Hell to Satisfy his luſt. If you will not part with your Life or Eſtate when another deſires you, why ſhould we part with Heaven for ever, and chooſe Hell at your deſire?

Yea we ſee that you will not leave an ill-gotten gain, or a Sport, or a Whore, or a Drunken Cup, for all the Love of God, the

blood of Christ, and the hope of Heaven; And shall we part with God, and Heaven, and Christ to humour you?

And what is it that you offer us instead of all that we must part with? And to ease the pain which we must undergo? Nothing, or worse than nothing. If we should renounce God and our hope of Heaven, you cannot give us health or wealth for it: Much less can you secure these or life to us till to morrow. And will any thing that you can give us, be better than Heaven to us? Or will it make Hell tollerable?

Will you undertake to answer for it at the bar of God, if we are charged with an ungodly, fleshly life, or omitting our necessary duty? You cannot answer for your selves but by trembling confession: You cannot save your selves; Nor will all your wealth and honour get you one drop of Water to cool your tongues. And shall we trust that you can answer for us, or save us? When you would have any man wilfully to neglect that holy life which God enjoyneth, you would have him to be madder than one that would Burn his House, and Kill himself, if you did but require it. And what horrid cruelty is this? You are worse than man-eating Cannibals? But the best is you cannot force us to it; And if you think to hire or flatter us into Hell, you must have somewhat more to say, and to offer us than we yet

yet ever heard of; Much leſs are we ſo much below Bedlams, as to forſake our Salvation, leſt you ſhould call us Preciſians, or Puritans, or any ſuch nick-name or word of ſcorn, as doth but ſhew the folly and miſery of the ſpeaker. You will not be laught or mockt out of your Eſtates, or Lives; Nor we out of our Salvation. In ſhort, Nature is not willing to lie in Hell, and Grace maketh us deſire Heaven; And we never yet found that any thing elſe was more deſireable.

17. And what is there amiſs in the Word or Work of God, and in a ſerious godly life, that ſhould make us be againſt it? Doth God make bad Laws? Are your wills and luſts and appetites a better law? Or could you have taught God to amend the Bible, or to govern better? God needs us not: His Laws are all made for our good? All his ways are pleaſantneſs, and all his paths are peace. Speak true reaſon. Is it a better life to love a Whore, or to pleaſe Luſt and Appetite, than to love God? What is there in Love and Obedience to God that ſhould make it deteſtable, or make us miſerable? Is it a greater trouble to live in hope of Heavenly Glory, than to live in the deſpair either of a Sadducee or a Rebel? You may wiſelier tempt us to fall out with our food, or friends, or health. We know that Faith and Godlineſs, are not only

ly mans duty, but his intereſt, much more than health is to our bodies, food to our natures, and the converſe of deareſt friends to our delight.

18. We have had experience of both ways, and would you have us mad againſt our experience? We tryed the World and Sin too long, and found nothing in it but bruti∫h pleaſure and lu∫cious Poy∫on: Nothing that will ſave Soul, life or health: And ſome tryal God in mercy hath given us of his love, and the life of obedient faith and hope: And the more we try it, the better we find it: Only we can reach to ſo ſmall a degree as doth but tell us how good it is, and make us long for more. And whether the Devil would perſwade, ſcorn or affright us from it, by his own mouth or by yours, we hope it ſhall be all in vain.

19. And who or what are you that would reaſon, mock or affright us from a life of obedience to God? Are you wiſer than God, and dare you give him the lie, that we ſhould believe you before him? Or are you better than God, that you can make a better choice for your ſelves and us? Are you more merciful than God, and would ſave us from ſome hurt that he would do us? Are you truer than God, and more to be believed? Are you greater than God, and more to be feared? Or are you not the moſt fooli∫h, ignorant and damnably your ſelves deluded

deluded by the Devil: And ſhall the words or mocks of ſuch, drive us to forſake our Souls and God? Should we obey you and lie in Hell for it for ever, it would be no ſmall part of the torment of our Conſciences, to think that we came thither by regarding the threats or ſcorns of worms and fools before all the Word, and Love of God and our Redeemer.

20. And before we change our Obedience to God for another courſe, let us know what we ſhall change it for, and whether it be for ſomething better: Hath your courſe made you better or happier than the faithful are? Do we not ſee and feel with ſorrow, that the worldly, fleſhly, ungodly ſort, are in all Nations the Plagues of the Earth, and worſe to mankind than Wolves and Serpents? They will not let the world live in peace; ſtriving and fighting for dominion and maſterſhip, and more of the world, they are like Dogs about their Carrion, worrying and tearing one another: They turn Man into a more odious creature than Swine or Toads, by filthy luſts, and horrid prophaneneſs: They make their Countreys worſe than *Bedlam*, raving againſt that which the God of Heaven hath commanded and made neceſſary to Salvation. And are theſe ſuch good and pleaſant fruits as ſhould entice us to change our maſter, work and hopes, for this, and worſe that followeth it?

And who ſhall be our Rule, if we forſake God and his Word? If Princes, how many minds are they of through the world? And are they all in the right? Or how ſhall we know which is right but by the Word of God? Or muſt all men be for the God and Religion of his King? If it were Prelates, of how many minds are they through the world, and how bitter in condemning one another? If it muſt be the major part, how ſhall obſcure men know who thoſe be that can have no juſt cogniſance of the ſtate of the Earth, whether Papiſts, Greeks, Jacobites, Neſtorians, *&c.* be the major part? And how ſhall we know that the major part of the Clergy are the beſt and ſoundeſt, when we ſee that the major part of the Laity is uſually the worſt? Or is it certain that the Papiſts Biſhops are ſounder than our Proteſtant Biſhops, becauſe they are more? If we forſake our Concord in God and his Word, we can have none.

21. What mean you to do with *Conſcience*, your own, and ours, and other mens? Conſcience is Gods Officer in us, and judgeth of men and actions as they ſtand ſubject to God and his Judgment. To drive Conſcience out of the world, and to drive all reverence and obedience to God out of the world, is all one. To ſubject Conſcience to Luſt or Man, is to ſubject God to Luſt or Man in our eſtimation and practice. And is God ſo eaſily depoſed?

depoſed? And will he give up his Scepter to a ſcorner, a drunkard, or a perſecutor?

And what ſhift will you make at home to quiet Conſcience in your ſelves? You little know how deep it biteth, and how hardly it is quieted, when it is awaked, as ſhortly and certainly it will be: Then *Judas* will bring back his price, and ſay, *I have ſinned in betraying innocent blood*; and all the comfort his companions will give him is, *See thou to that: What's that to us?* And hanging or precipitating himſelf is next. It's like he before thought as you do, that he could have better maſtered his Conſcience: But you may as wiſely think to conquer pain and death.

But whatever you do with your own, if we ſhould leave our obedience to God, to obey you, or any men, we know not what we ſhould do with our own Conſciences, nor how to quiet them. God hath brought us out of that Darkneſs and Lethargy which quieted them in ſin heretofore: And we cannot now be ignorant of that duty to God, that ſelf-intereſt, that danger to wilful ſinners, and that evil of ſin, which would begin Hell in us here: And are not your ſcorns and threatnings eaſier than this?

22. Do not moſt men at death ſee the madneſs not only of enmity, but of neglect of a holy life, and wiſh that they might die the death of the righteous, and that their laſt end might be like his? Had you rather

die a *Dives* or a *Herod*, or a *Lazarus* or a *Paul*? Is it not a ſhame to your deviliſh cauſe and you, to ſee men live in one mind and die in another? And ſcorn, hate and perſecute ſerious Godlineſs till the Sentence of death is paſt upon them, and then to wiſh they were ſuch themſelves. Or if you be more hardened to the laſt, you are the more hopeleſs: But how quickly did ſuch another change his note, and cry, *Father* Abraham, *ſend one to my five brethren to warn them, that they come not to this place of torment*? If you mock at theſe words, you mock at Chriſt that ſpake them, and ſure you look not to be ſaved by a derided Chriſt. And it's baſe Hypocriſy to deride him, and yet call your ſelves Chriſtians, and go to Church as if you ſerved him. Live as you would die and be judged, for you ſhall be judged as you live and die. Either hold to the mind that you will never change, or change it quickly before it be too late.

23. If you know what a man is, you know that his Soul is better than his corruptible fleſh; And if you think your Throats and Guts and Fancies worth all the Coſt and Care and Labour which you beſtow on them in the world, ſhall not we think our Souls worth more? What Godly man that you think makes too much a do for Heaven, doth beſtow more time, and words, and labour for it, than you do for the Fleſh and World?

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Do we not ſee how men will labour at land, and venture through dangerous Seas, and Fight in Wars, and Plot againſt all that ſtand in their way, and this all day, from year to year, and all for Proviſion for Fleſh and Fancy. And do thoſe that you accuſe do more for their Salvation? If you know not now, you will ſhortly know, which makes the better choice and bargain.

24 What harm doth Godlineſs and Conſcience do you in other men? Had you not rather have a ſon that takes Diſobedience, Whoredom, Gaming and Drunkenneſs for ſin, than one that makes no Conſcience of them? Had you not rather have a Wife whoſe Conſcience reſtrains her from Scolding and Adultery, and a Servant that makes Conſcience of robbing or deceiving you, than one that doth not? Sure unconſcionable Servants and Debtors are more troubleſom than they that fear God and believe that injuſtice is a damning ſin? But the truth is, moſt wicked men are for ſo much Conſcience and Religion in others, as reſtrains them from wronging or hurting them; but no more, nor for that much in themſelves which may reſtrain them from hurting others.

But if you reſolve rather to be damned than to be Sober, Juſt and Godly, and obey God againſt the fleſh; Why cannot you bear with other men that make a wiſer choice?

What hurt doth their praying do you; or their preaching, while they are responsible for any ill Doctrine? What if they be reading the Scripture, or hearing Directions for a holy life, while you are Drinking, or Gaming, or reading a Romance, or Railing Libel, doth their Piety hurt you? What if they dare not Swear and Drink as you do, doth this do you any harm? What is it but the Serpentine enmity that maketh you hate those that never hurt you?

25. If you will believe God, it is for the sake of Godly men that God preserves the World from ruine: He would have saved *Sodom* had there been but ten such persons in it: He will not destroy the world, till he hath gathered all his chosen out of it: And do they deserve to be most hated?

26. How exceeding dear a love hath God and our Redeemer expreſt, to all holy, obedient believers? God calls them his Jewels, his Treasure, in whom he delighteth; He gave Christ specially for them: He sealeth them to Salvation by his Spirit: he justifieth them, and will glorify them in Heaven: Christ calls them Flesh of his Flesh, his Friends, his Spouse, they are united to him, he washeth them in his blood, and feedeth them with his Flesh, and will make them equal to the Angels, and will condemn their Enemies: And are not you deviliſh enemies

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to God and Chriſt, who cull out thoſe for your malice and Enmity, whom God chooſeth out to magnify the wonders of his Love on them for ever?

27. The Angels of Heaven rejoyce at the Converſion of a ſinner, *Luke* 15. 10. And rejoyce to be Chriſt Servants for their defence continually: And is it not Devils then and their Servants and Souldiers that are againſt them? Take heed; Gods Angels that ſmote a *Herod*, may do execution on you ere long.

28. The Holy Ghoſt ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 6. That the Saints ſhall judge the world, and even the Angels, that is, the evil ones: Did you believe this, you would be afraid to hate and perſecute them now.

29. Even Heathens are for much honouring and worſhiping their Gods; yea many offer them too coſtly Sacrifice: What praiſes doth *Julian* give to the Sun, and what ſtrictneſs of life doth he Command his Prieſts? What great contempt of the Body and the World, did the Platoniſts, the Stoicks and the Cynicks profeſs? And ſhall profeſt Chriſtians hate thoſe that are obedient to the true God yea to ſhew that the War between Good and Evil goeth on in all the World; even among Heathens thoſe that were for true virtue were deſpiſed and hated by the ſenſual.

30. And is it not a ſelf-condemning thing

in thoſe that accuſe Gods Servants as making too much adoe in obeying the Law of God, and yet make (as the Church of *Rome* doth) abundance more Laws or Canons of their own, and require preciſe obedience to them all? Yea will burn men at a Stake for breaking their Laws; Doth God make too much work in the Judgment of them that think it not enough without much more, as if Gods Law were too narrow and inſufficient? Yea learn by the Church of *England*, whoſe Canons (5, 6, 7, 8.) *ipſo facto* excommunicate them that do but affirm any thing to be repugnant to Gods word in their Liturgy, Ceremonies or Church Governing Offices: And can you think that obeying God deſerveth hatred, when diſobeying men deſerveth excommunication? Learn of our late Laws, which account all the Miniſters of *England* worthy to be caſt out and ſilenced if they dare not take the impoſed Declarations, Oaths and Subſcriptions, and do what the Act of Uniformity impoſeth; And do you think it worthy of reproach to be as ſtrict in obeying Gods known Laws, as is required to the Act of Uniformity and the Canons?

31. Even the Church of *Rome* applaudeth great Rigor and Strictneſs of life, in ſuch as will obey the Pope; And they have allowed Orders of Fryars whoſe rules tye them to great abſtinence, to much praying, and ſome

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to much Preaching, ſo that Religion is all their calling. And ſhall the ſtrict obeying of Gods known Laws render men odious among profeſſed Proteſtants? Yea the Papiſts honour the very Bones and Relicks of their dead Saints? And you your ſelves keep holy days for many Saints: And will you at the ſame time hate and hurt thoſe that endeavour to imitate them? Will you imitate thoſe Phariſees whom Chriſt pronounceth Woe againſt, who at once honoured the dead Prophets with building them Monuments or Tombs, and murdered the living that ſucceeded them?

32. You can never come to Heaven, or be ſaved from Hell your ſelves, without ſerious Holineſs, Juſtice and Sobriety: And will you hate that without which you cannot be ſaved?

33. Scarce any ſin doth more certainly prove you to be ungodly, than hating godlineſs: What ever hope there may be of thoſe that ſin againſt Conſcience, and wiſh to be better, and purpoſe Repentance, that man cannot be a truly Godly man, that is an Enemy to godlineſs, ſo that this is a dreadful deaths mark on you.

34. You would extirpate the principle of ſelf-love, which God hath made inſeparable from us. There is ſomewhat in our nature which we cannot lay by, which makes us unwilling to be damned. If you that believe

lieve no Hell, dare venture into it, we cannot do ſo, who do believe it. If you ſay, that it is our folly to believe that none ſhall be ſaved without *Holineſs*, and mortifying the deeds of the body by the Spirit, bear with that folly which doth you no harm: It is not Men or Devils that we had it from, but the Holy Ghoſt in Scripture. If it be your wiſdom to give God the lie, and believe a Drunken ſot, or the Devil, before him, it ſhall be none of ours: Speed as you chooſe, and let us ſpeed as we chooſe: we ſhall meet your Souls ſhortly in another mind and tune. Strive not to make us chooſe damnation now our Eyes are open: We were once too eaſily befool'd: but cannot now ſo hate our ſelves.

35. Moreover, he that would not have a man live a life of holy obedience to God, would have him lay by that which he was made for, and that which God continueth his life for, and that which he hath his reaſon and all his daily mercies for. What elſe have we to do in the World? Have men going to the Grave and Eternity, nothing to do but Eat and Drink, and Laugh, and Play, and run up and down like Ants with ſticks and ſtraws, and then die, and call all vanity and vexation too late? If we may not ſpend our time in making ſure of a better World, we had rather we had never been born, or had died in infancy, or that we had a doſe

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of *Opium* that would make us ſleep out the reſt of our lives in quietneſs, rather than ſpend it as you do, and then give a ſad account of all: we had rather we had been Birds or Beaſts, Dogs or Swine than Men, were it not for that life which you hate, and the hopes which depend on it. It had been a greater kindneſs to us to have murdered us at the birth, than to tempt us to live for our damnation.

36. What do you think it is that is Gods *Image on mans Soul*, you know that it's ſaid in Scripture that God made man at firſt in his own Image, and that Chriſt by his Spirit reneweth them to that Image. What is it think you, God hath not hands and feet, and bodily parts as we have? It is the Soul that hath his Image. And do you think it is the love of Money, and Luſt, and Sport, or Gluttony, or Drunkenneſs that is his Image? Scripture ſaith *Eph.* 4. 23, 24. *Coloſ.* 3. 10. it is *Holineſs*: And this is called the *Divine nature*, as coming from God, and inclining nature unto God. Either Holineſs, Wiſdom and Righteouſneſs is Gods Image, or elſe there is none ſuch on man; And then you make Gods Word to be falſe. And if this be it, and this it which you hate, are you not haters of God? And is not that to be deviliſh and hated by God?

37. While you are angry at them that ſay few are ſaved, or that none but Saints

or

or ſerious godly obedient men are ſaved, you would ſink all the World into utter deſpair, and make none or next none to be ſaved. One part of the haters of godlineſs believe no life to come; And theſe would have all men deſpair. For if there be none, there is none to be hoped for: and they that think men die but as Dogs & Swine do, muſt be expected to live like Dogs & Swine. The other part of you, labour by all means to make themſelves and others believe that the profeſſion of more godlineſs than worldly carnal men have, is but hypocriſy, and that ſuch are at the heart as bad as others: And if this be ſo, what is the conſequence, but that *none are ſaved?* For unleſs you will give God the lie, or be ſaved in ſpite of him, you muſt believe that none are ſaved that are not ſanctified by the Spirit of Chriſt, and live not after the Spirit, mortifying the fleſh, *Joh.* 3 3, 5. *Heb.* 12. 14. *Rom.* 8. 6, 7. 8, 9, 13. 2 *Cor.* 5. 17. And that no man can be ſaved that loveth the world more than God and Heaven, and fleſhly pleaſure more than holineſs. And therefore if there be none ſuch, then none are ſaved. Hypocriſy will not ſave men: God tells us that Drunkards, Fornicators, Covetous, Thieves, Extortioners, Revilers, Effeminate, Idolaters, cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, 1 *Cor.* 6. 9, 10. *Eph.* 5. 5. And if any *man love the world* (beſt) the *love of the Father*

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is not in him, 1 *Joh.* 2. 5. And if all that pretend to be better are hypocrites, than none at all are ſaved.

It may be you have the kindneſs to except ſome few. But if thoſe few be all that be not either carnal men (deſcribed *Rom.* 8. 5, 6, 7, 9.) or hypocrites, how few then do you make to be ſaved, if God be true?

38. Who do you think it is that Chriſt meaneth, when he ſaith, *I ſend you as Lambs among Wolves? Ye ſhall be hated of all men for my names ſakes; Bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake? When they ſay all manner of evil of you falſly for my ſake: The World will hate you as it hated me, becauſe you are not of the World, but I have choſen you out of the World: Marvel not if the World hate you? As many as will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer Perſecution, &c.* Who do you think all this is ſpoken of? It is not of you, that are fleſhly, worldly, ungodly men; Who Perſecuteth you for righteouſneſs ſake? Who hateth, revileth or impriſoneth, or fineth you, for living *godly in Chriſt* Jeſus? Do you ſuffer as much for reviling Preachers, as we have done for Preaching? What ſuffer you for all the Oaths that be ſworn daily in Streets and Taverns, and the horrid prophaneneſs, Atheiſm, Sadduceiſm, Infidelity that men are guilty of? If you did ſuffer for Whoredom, Drunkenneſs, Blaſphemy is that for Chriſt or righteouſneſs? When the

the Holy Ghoſt ſaith, *As he that was born after the Fleſh perſecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even ſo it is now*, is it ſuch as you that he meaneth? When *Peter* ſaith, [*They ſpeak evil of you, and falſly accuſe your good converſation in Chriſt*, 1 *Pet.* 3. 16. whom meaneth he? When he ſaith, 1 *Pet.* 4. *They think it ſtrange that you run not with them to all exceſs of ryot (laſciviouſneſs, luſts, exceſs of wine, revellings, banquetings and abominable idolatry)* who do you think he meaneth? And when he ſaith, 1. *Pet.* 2. 9. *Ye are a choſen Generation, a royal Prieſt-hood, a holy Nation, a peculiar People, that ye ſhould ſhew forth the praiſes of him that hath called you out of darkneſs into his marvellous light*; who is it that he meaneth? You'll ſay, *It is Chriſtians*: True: But is it Hypocrites? Is it thoſe that will ſay at laſt, *Lord we have Propheſied in thy Name, and Eat and Drunk in thy preſence, to whom Chriſt will ſay, Depart from me, ye workers of Iniquity, I know you not?* Sure falſe Chriſtians are worſe than Heathens.

39. The way which you take againſt Religious perſons doth ſhew who it is that ſets you on work, and what it is that is the root of your enmity. As Gods Image is in the *underſtanding, will* and *executive power* of man, ſo is Satans; and he is accordingly deſcribed by Chriſt, to be 1. A Liar and Deceiver; 2. A Malignant, Hater of Goodneſs, or Holineſs; and a cauſe of ſin; 3. A hurtful murderer

murderer or deſtroyer. And theſe are the three ways by which Godly people are proſecuted in the world. 1. Belying them is grown ſo common with their enemies, that there is nothing ſcarcely ſo notoriouſly falſe which they will not affirm of them, and it's well if ſome will not preach it, print it, or ſwear it: And they make one another eaſily believe it. Till experience proved it, I did not think that humane nature had been liable to ſuch impudent, monſtrous lying.

2. The daily buſineſs of many is, by wit and diligence to draw men to hate Religious men on falſe pretences: As plainly as Chriſt preacheth and urgeth *Love*, as his great Commandment; ſo plainly do theſe preſs and urge men to Hatred: But of this before.

3. And Hatred tends to *Hurtfulneſs*: What plotting and labouring is there in the world, to ruine and deſtroy each other? The malignant ſpirit is blood-thirſty. It's ſtrange how the unclean Devils thirſt to draw or ſuck ſome blood from Witches. Nothing more alienates me from the Papal Kingdom, than that it lives like Leeches upon blood. To read over the Hiſtory of the Inquiſition, and of their Maſſacres, would make Men take Toads, and Adders, and mad Dogs, and Wolves, for harmleſs things in compariſon of ſome Men. If any would requite them (or others) with the like, I hate it in Proteſtant or Papiſt. The Turks conquered

conquered the Greek Empire, partly by the mutinous diviſions of the Chriſtians, and partly by promiſing them Liberty of Religion: And when the Chriſtians thought they ſhould have that, they yielded up the Empire with the leſs reſiſtance. And that which was ſo advantageous to the Infidels, might, well uſed and limited, be more advantageous to the Chriſtian Truth and Church.

But though good things may be uſed in an ill cauſe, it is a ſign of a bad cauſe which needeth bad means. That cauſe which is carried on by Lying, Perjury and Deceit, by malignant Love-killing, endeavours, and by cruelty, and hurtfulneſs, and blood, is thereby made ſuſpicious to all wiſe men. It is a wonder of impudency in *Baronius*, *Binnius* and other Papiſts, to juſtifie *Martin*, a Canonized Saint, for renouncing Communion to the death with the Synods and Biſhops who perſwaded the Emperor to draw the Sword againſt the Gnoſtick Priſcillianiſts; and themſelves to defend a thouſand-fold greater cruelties and murders in their own Church on the account of Religion: But ſin is mad ſelf-contradiction.

4. I conclude with this great truth: They that hate and oppoſe Godly mens obedience to God, do ſeek to ſilence the chief Witneſs of Chriſt, and to caſt out Chriſtianity from the Earth. Chriſtianity cannot be proved

ved to be true, but by the *Spirit*, which is its Seal and Witneſs. This Witneſs of the Spirit was not only extraordinary in Languages and numerous Miracles, but alſo ordinary in the work of Sanctification. This Seal is ſet on all that ſhall be ſaved in all times and places. The Lord knoweth who are his: And let him that nameth the name of Chriſt depart from iniquity. *He redeemed us to purifie to himſelf a peculiar people zealous of good works: Teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly in this preſent world: Looking for that bleſſed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Tit.* 2. 12, 13, 14. By this healing work Chriſt is known to be indeed our Phyſician, the real Saviour that ſaveth his people from their ſins. As man generateth man, and the Father is known by the ſimilitude of the Child; and as he is known to be a good Artiſt that can make others ſuch. This is Chriſts ſtanding Witneſs in all times and places. And when you would turn this into ſcorn, and cloud it with ſlanders, or the charge of Hypocriſie, and would have ſuch judged an odious people, and have them driven out of the world, what do you in effect but ſpit in the face of Chriſt, and crown him with Thorns, and call him a Deceiver, and crucifie him afreſh, and ſeek to expel Chriſtianity from the

Earth? What reaſonable man could believe Chriſt to be Chriſt, the Saviour of the world, if he did not ſanctifie men, and make them much better and fitter for Heaven than other men?

So that in this you directly militate for the Devil, the World and the Fleſh, againſt God the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, againſt the Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints, and the Hope of Reſurrection and life everlaſting; which if you did openly under the name of Infidels or Heathens, or rather as the profeſt Souldiers of the Devil, it were leſs diſingenuous and hypocritical, than to do it in the Church, and under Chriſts colours, and in the Chriſtian name.

And you muſt be ſure that you are ſtronger than God and our Saviour, if you will prevail to the laſt. God hath undertaken the defence of the Juſt: Chriſt hath undertaken to preſent them triumphant before his Father, and caſt their Enemies into Hell. Are you ſure you can overcome him? Vile Worms that cannot fetch a breath without him! When began you to be ſtronger than God? Was it in the womb? or in Infancy when you could not go? Or was it when the Devil and the Fleſh made you mad or drunken in ignorant malice? If ſo, the drunken fit will ſoon be over, and God will awake a tormenting Wit. If you can conquer

quer God, try your ſtrength firſt on his works: Stop the Sun: change Night and Day: turn the Tide of the Sea: live without Meat or Air: reſolve that you will never die: ſave all your Friends from death. Can you do none of this, and yet will you venture a War againſt God? Or do you think to fight againſt his Servants, and bribe him to be on your ſide, and forſake them to your rage? Did Chriſt take Mans Nature, and die to ſave them, and will he now turn on Satans ſide againſt them? He overcame the Devils temptation on Earth; yea called *Peter* Satan, *Mat.* 16. when he would have tempted him not to die for his choſen. Let Men or Devils go try him in his Glory, whether he will change his mind, and take your part againſt his own holy Truth and Servants.

Chap. IV. *Objections and falſe Accuſations anſwered.*

BUT I know that as Chriſt and his Apoſtles were not hated, nor killed without pretended cauſe and reaſon, nor the Martyrs murdered without accuſation; ſo none will now juſtifie the ſcorning or perſecuting an innocent perſon, or a Saint as ſuch, but they will firſt make them odious,

and ſeem worthy of all that is done againſt them. They will ſay, *It is not godly men, but wicked Hypocrites that we hate and proſecute; a falſe and odious ſort of perſons, who are unruly, and ſet up their own wit and will againſt the Laws and Governours of the ſeveral Kingdoms where they live: They are the very worſt of men.*

Anſ. If they are ſo indeed, they are none of the men that I am pleading for, nor you the men that I reprove. But before we come to particular Accuſations, it is your wiſdom to anſwer theſe few Queſtions.

1. Have you particular matter againſt them to make good this charge? Or is it only a general malicious Accuſation?

2. Is it individual perſons that you mean, by whom it's proved? or do you thus accuſe whole companies of men? What if one ſaid of Papiſts, Jews or Turks, They are Murderers, Adulterers, Perjured, *&c.* Do you think he were not an odious ſlanderer, to ſpeak that of all or moſt, or the whole Party, which he can prove but by ſome few?

3. Do you know all the perſons whom you accuſe? And have you heard it proved? Or do you not ſay this of whole Congregations aſſembled to worſhip God, of whom you know not one of many? If this be ſo, it's inhumane calumny.

4. Have the particular perſons been heard ſpeak

ſpeak for themſelves, and give the reaſon of their actions? and were they proved inſufficient? Or were they condemned unheard? Or was Gods Word derided and taken for no reaſon?

5. Do you not know that the Devil is the great Accuſer of the Brethren? and that he hath malice and craft enough to ſay as bad as you can ſay, by the beſt of men? and muſt he be believed?

6. Are you ſure you can make God believe you, that theſe men are as bad as you affirm? If not, and if he find a man in priſon for obeying his word, and ask who laid him there, will you undertake to prove that he was laid there for ſome crime? If God own him, and ſay, he is my Servant, will you confute him, and ſay, No, but he is a Schiſmatick, God knoweth a Saint from a Schiſmatick better than you do. Sheep-ſteelers uſe to ſheer the ſheep and cut out the mark: But they have to do with men: Gods mark is where man cannot take it away; And the foundation of God ſtandeth ſure. The Lord knoweth who are his.

7. Know you not that Chriſt, and his Apoſtles and all the Martyrs were as deeply charged, and put to death as Malefactors? We muſt then have better proof than accuſation.

8. If they prove faithful Chriſtians whom you thus accuſe, Chriſt hath undertaken

their Juſtification : It is his office. And do you think to baffle him ? Can he not anſwer you? *Rom.* 8. 32, 33, 35. *Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? It is God that juſtifieth : Who is he that will condemn them?*

9. Have you not greater ſins your ſelves than thoſe whom you accuſe ? If ſo, you condemn your ſelves. Would you have God judge of them as you do? If ſo, do you not tell him how to judge of you, and even crave him to condemn you ?

10. Doubtleſs you know that you are ſinners : And how think you to be juſtified at the Bar of God ? Is there any but Chriſt to judge and juſtify you ? And do you think he will juſtifie his Enemies, that hated, accuſed and condemned his Servants?

11. Thoſe that dwell near godly Chriſtians and ſhould know them, are more unexcuſable for their malice and ſlanders than forreigners and ſtrangers are. Men of another land or age may be deceived by lying fame or hiſtory. But you that are their Neighbours are without excuſe. I ſpeak for none but perſons fearing and obeying God: And you might eaſily have known that they are neither Fornicators, Drunkards, Perjur'd, ſwearers, Liars, Oppreſſors, Thieves, nor ſuffer for any ſuch crimes as theſe.

12. And if they are as wicked as you ſay, why

why do you not proſecute them for ſuch wickedneſs? What are the French Proteſtants now proſecuted and ruin'd for? Have any Judicatures proved them guilty of any ſuch crimes againſt God or Man? Or is it not only for worſhiping God contrary to the Kings and Prelates Laws? And how is that? As Chriſts Apoſtles did: They refuſe nothing in Gods worſhip which God commanded, or any of Chriſts Apoſtles uſed, or any Churches in their days or long after. And did the Apoſtles offer God ſo odious a worſhip as deſerved hatred and deſtruction? When *Daniels* Enemies deſigned his ruine, they ſaid, *Dan. 6. We ſhall find no matter againſt this* Daniel *except it be concerning the Law of his God*; And ſo they got a Law made againſt praying to any God but the King for a certain time. *Daniel* muſt be caſt to the Lions for breaking the Kings Law: The poor flies deſerve death for coming into the Spiders Web: But did not the venomous Worm Spin it of purpoſe out of her own Bowels, or condenſate air, to take and kill the flies by craft? In *England* there are many that worſhip God as the French Proteſtants do, and no better than Chriſts Apoſtles did: If this be their horrid wickedneſs that makes them unworthy to live out of Priſon, ſay ſo, and pretend no other. But if it be Hereſie, falſe Doctrine, Perjury, Fornication, Robbing, Treaſon, Sedition

dition or any other crime, why are they not accuſed of theſe before the Judges? And why are thoſe charged with them that never were ſo accuſed and proved guilty? Will not all wiſe men take thoſe perſons for malicious Liars, who by their publiſhed accuſations thus odiouſly charge multitudes, and never offer to prove it againſt them at the Judicatures? Their accuſation ſhews they want not will, therefore their not proſecuting them for any ſuch ſort of crimes, ſhews that it is truth that is wanting.

13. And if they be ſuch wicked perſons, whence is it, that they are charged meerly with Hypocriſy, by ſuch as ſay, that they live ſoberly and juſtly and demurely, but they are at the heart as bad as others. Their accuſers commonly confeſs that they are moſt free from all immoralities, and have an outward ſhew of righteouſneſs, but theſe heart-ſearchers ſee that their hearts are bad. And do they not by this confute their own accuſations?

14. And why is it that they that know them beſt can ſee none of the wickedneſs which you accuſe them of, (beyond thoſe humane infirmities of which they moſt accuſe themſelves). As I have oft done, I again ſolemnly profeſs, as one that cannot be far from my account before the judge of all the the World, that having now lived to the 68th year of my age, and been moſt familiar

ſince

ſince the age of ſixteen or ſeventeen, with that ſort of men whom the Vulgar then called Puritans (deſcribed by Mr. *Bolton* and ſuch other Conformiſts) though I have met with many that had their miſtakes and frailties, and troubleſome differences in leſſer things, and ſome Hypocrites intruded among them, yet I never knew any other ſort of men comparable to them in Chriſtian Knowledge, Faith, Obedience to God, Hatred of ſin, Care of their duty to God and man, Sobriety, Temperance, Chaſtity, Truth, Heavenly deſires, endeavours and hopes: And that they ſo far excelled the reſt of my acquaintance, as made their grace amiable to me, and confirmed my belief of the Sacred Scripture: Yea more, if I had not had the happineſs of knowing ſuch a ſort of men that in holineſs, Juſtice and Love excelled the reſt of my acquaintance, or at leaſt credibly heard of ſuch, I could not have believed in Chriſt, as a Saviour of men whom he made no better than Turks and Infidels; Nor could I have believed a Heaven for men no better prepared for it. And that now near my end, I ſee ſo great a difference in Holineſs, Juſtice and Charity, between thoſe commonly reviled for worſhiping God but as the Apoſtles did, and thoſe that hate and perſecute them, as greatly helps me in believing that there is a Saviour and Sanctifier, and Heaven for the faithful, and a Devil

vil that deceives the reſt, and a hell that will receive them; which is even viſibly begun on Earth.

Accuſ. *But* (ſay they) *it is not for their Godlineſs or Sobriety that we accuſe them, but for their ſin, and wickedneſs.*

Anſ. Still this is but General, and ſignifieth nothing. But, 1. What is that odious ſin? 2. It's Gods merciful Providence that keeps ſin in general under ſuch ſhame, as that the actors of it ſpeak againſt it, even in their ſlanders. 3. But if this be the true cauſe why do you cull out thoſe that have leaſt ſin to faſten your accuſations of ſin upon? If there be a conformable Miniſter that is more Holy, Charitable, and Zealous againſt ſin than the reſt, he is one of thoſe that is called a *Puritan* and accuſed of ſin? Why do we hear none of your furious charges againſt the common Drunkards Revellers, Gameſters, Whoremongers, Perſecutors, Profane Blaſphemers, Lyars, and the Families that call not upon God, ſhew no ſerious regard of any Religion at all? You can live among theſe, and Swear and Drink, and Play with them, and never cry out againſt them as bad men.

Accuſ.

Accuſ. *But religion, being the beſt thing, the Corrupters of that are worſe than Drunkards, and Swearers, and Adulterers.*

Anſ. Such corrupters there may be as are worſe indeed: But what is it that they corrupt Religion in? They ſubſcribe to all the Bible, and the ancient Creeds? And if need be to the *Engliſh* Articles of Religion. Is not all that enough? Their many large publiſhed writings tell the world their Judgment in Religion; Such as Mr. *Arthur Hilderſhams*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *Greenhams*, *Dods*, *Anthony Burges*, *Richard Alleins*, and abundance ſuch: What errors are in theſe?

2. Why are they not theſe twenty years accuſed of Preaching falſe Doctrine, and proved guilty and puniſht for it, if they are ſuch?

3. If it be not in Doctrine what is it?

Accuſ. *They worſhip God contrary to the Law; in not uſing the Common-Prayer book.*

Anſ. 1. Thoſe that conſtantly joyn in the Pariſh Churches in the Common-Prayer are as much hated, Reviled and Proſecuted as the reſt. Therefore this charge is but hypocriſy.

2. What do they that for matter or manner

ner is positively contrary to Law in Gods worship: They read Scripture, Pray, Preach, Praise God with Psalms, Communicate in the Lords Supper: Doth the Law forbid any of this?

3. Not using the rest of the Liturgy is a Negation, and no Act at all, and therefore no act of worship, and therefore no unlawful act, no more than silence is: He that is silent, and he that omits the rest of the Liturgy, worships not God by using it; but he doth nothing contrary to it, or forbidden by it.

4. If *Peter* and *Paul* were unknown in *England*, and worshipt God but as they did on Earth, would you therefore call them Rogues or Rebels, or lay them in the jail? Did they worship God in an odious, intolerable manner? Did the Holy-Ghost by them write an infallible Rule for all things necessary in Religion? and yet are they unsufferable rogues that worship God but according to that rule?

5. Are they wiser men than they that have made us another rule or worship? or have they more of Gods Spirit, and more authority in religion?

6. Do not the Imposers say that all which they add is *no part of Religion*, but *things indifferent*? And are they odious corrupters of Religion, who omit no part of Religion, but only humane indifferent things?

7. Do

7. Do you not reverence the Church for ſome hundred years after Chriſt, which impoſed no Liturgies, but left every Paſtor to uſe his own Prayers?

8. Do you not harden the Papiſts that call our Religion new, and ask where it was two hundred years ago, if you make the Liturgy as now formed and impoſed, our Religion, when it is not two hundred years old.

9. The Godly Biſhops of *England* have ever owned the other Proteſtant Churches, and their Communion, who have none of our Liturgies, nor any like it.

10. If this be the odious crime, why do you never Revile or Proſecute the Atheiſts, Infidels, Sadduces, Hobbiſts, and thoſe many thouſands that ſeldom if ever go to any Church, or worſhip God publickly at all? Is the worſhip that *Peter* and *Paul* uſed worſe than irreligiouſneſs and infidelity?

11. Who can believe that you are ſincerely zealous againſt miſworſhiping God, when you can ordinarily your ſelves be in a drinking houſe or playing houſe, at the time of publick worſhip? And when ſo few of you ever ſo much as worſhip God in your Families, by Prayer, or read the Scripture, or Catechiſe your families?

12. Is it not a ſtrange thing to hear men accuſe others for not uſing the Liturgy in Gods worſhip, and at the ſame time would have

have them that refuſe it, to be forbidden all publick worſhiping of God at all? Doth this ſignify any diſlike of their omitting Gods worſhip? Which is the more ungodly omiſſion? to omit all worſhip of God and live like Atheiſts, or to omit only ſo much of the Liturgy as the Apoſtles uſed not? I have known many that could not eat cheeſe, as is ſaid before (nor ſcarce ſmell it without danger of Death:) If you would have a Law made that ſuch ſhall eat no other meat, few wiſemen will believe that it is their health and life that you deſire. If a man fail in paying his Landlord ſome odd act of Service, will you make a Law that he ſhall pay nothing at all? If a Subject neglect paying ſome exciſe, or uſing Bow and Arrows, will you forbid him paying any thing, or ſerving the King at all? Sure they that forbid men all publick worſhip, be offended at ſomewhat elſe than that men do not rightly worſhip God, unleſs they think that not to worſhip him at all is better than doing it without their Book.

Obj. *But he ſhall be Compelled to better worſhip.*

Anſ. How? when he lieth in jail he cannot publickly worſhip God at all. Is that better worſhip? I know it is baniſhment which ſome would have executed. And will men worſhip God any better among Heathens or Infidels, or others? Or why ſhould other

Countries

Countries endure them, if they be not to be endured in their own?

Are not Engliſh-men that worſhip God only by their own Book, as much Nonconformiſts when they are in other Lands, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Holland*, &c. as thoſe are here that do not uſe it: And are they there intolerable and worthy of ruine?

Did the Apoſtles or firſt Churches baniſh any on ſuch accounts? Will Chriſt baniſh them from his Kingdom? Hath he made any ſuch Laws? And is not he the abſolute Soveraign? Hath he left his Servants to the will of man, to uſe them how they will, or caſt out of his Church whom they will? Are you ſure theſe are none of the number of whom Chriſt ſaith, I was hungry and ye fed me not, *&c.* In as much as ye did it not to one of the leaſt of theſe my Brethren, you did it not to me, *Mat.* 25.

Accuſ. *But they are Schiſmaticks, and Separate from the Church; and is not that a damnable ſin?*

Anſ. 1. Being ſpeaking only to malignant enemies of ſerious Godlineſs, I ſay; It is not only Separatiſts that you hate, but Godly Conformiſts yea perhaps moſt of all, becauſe you are more reſtrained from hurting them. How oft hear we Curſes and Revilings againſt

Conforming

Conforming Puritanes, or as ſome call them [*Church Whigs.*] If they are not haters of their brethren, but Friends to Love and Peace, you nickname them [*Trimmers.*] And curſing thoſe whom Chriſt bleſſeth, when he ſaith, [*Bleſſed be the Peace-makers, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*] You ſay, [*Curſed be the Trimmers, and would the Kingdom were rid of them.*] It is any that are for a holy life, and obedience to God, that you abhor.

2. As I ſaid before, you ſpare thoſe that come to the Pariſh Churches no more than others: The old Nonconformiſts wrote more againſt Separation than any elſe in *England* did. And yet were hated as intolerable. The reconcilers who are ſince made Nonconformiſts, did publickly offer to be Subject to Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, to uſe the Liturgy themſelves if reformed, and if it were not, yet never pleaded for ſeparation: And yet are never the more endured.

2. But *who* is it that they *ſeparate from?* Do they not profeſs Union and Communion with the whole Catholick Church on Earth? What ſeparation do you mean? Is it their *Local abſence?* And are not you ſuch Separatiſts from all the world, ſaving the Aſſembly where you meet? One cannot be in two places at once.

Or is it that they *diſlike* ſomewhat in your

your *Forms* of Worſhip? ſo they may in others Forms, with whom yet they profeſs Communion: And *in what* is it that they ſhew diſlike or ſeparation? They hold Communion with you as Chriſtians, and as reformed from Popery: They ſeparate not from Papiſts as Chriſtians: And from you it is only for that which you ſay is no part of your Worſhip or Religion, but things indifferent; which they think to be ſin. And are thoſe Separatiſts from *your Church*, who only ſeparate from that which is *no part* of *your Church* or *Worſhip?*

3. Are the French and Dutch Churches in *London* Schiſmaticks or Separatiſts, who profeſs Communion with our Churches, though they uſe not our Oaths, Subſcriptions or Liturgy? Liking their own mode better, and preferring it, is no Separation. If I like your Liturgy better than any in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is that ſeparating from all Churches that uſe the reſt?

4. Who are the Schiſmaticks in *France*, *Italy*, *Poland*, *&c.* Thoſe that are called ſo, and perſecuted as ſuch; or thoſe that impoſe on them the things which they judge ſinful?

What if you were in a Presbyterian Land, where the Liturgy and Prelacy are forbidden, and another Form ſet up by Law; and you ſhould contrary to that Law uſe the Liturgy and Ceremonies; or at leaſt refuſe

ſubſcribing againſt Prelacy, and for Lay Elders? If they excommunicated or ruined you for this, who do you think were guilty of the Schiſm?

5. Do they forſake the Aſſemblies before they are *excommunicated?* Or is it not an odd thing for to excommunicate men firſt, and then accuſe them for not coming to Church? I have known Miniſters ſtop in the midſt of Publick Worſhip, and refuſe to go on, till an excommunicate perſon went out. The whole repreſentative Church of *England* do in their 5, 6, 7, and 8 Canons *ipſo facto*, without tryal or ſentence, excommunicate all in *England*, who *affirm any thing to be ſinful or repugnant to Gods Word, in the Church Governing Offices whatſoever*, in the *Liturgy*, *Ceremonies* or *Articles*. And ſhall they after this be called Separatiſts for not coming in? Doth not the Canon ſhew that the Church would not have them come in, when they caſt them out?

Obj. *But the Church and Canon bid them repent of that their wicked errour, and publickly confeſs it, and ſo come in.*

Anſ. 1. Is a mans Judgment abſolutely in his power? Can a man believe a thing to be a *wicked errour* meerly becauſe the Canon ſaith ſo? He that can believe what his liſt, believeth nothing truly. If this Belief be neceſſary to Church Communion, and to eſcape damning Schiſm, it is neceſſary to Salvation:

Salvation: Why then is it not in the Creed, Ten Commandments or Bible? Do you call them the *things Indifferent*, and then call it a *wicked errour* to hold them *ſinful*? Is not this to make it neceſſary to Salvation or Communion, to have ſo much Learning or Knowledge, as to *know all Indifferent words and things in the world to be indifferent*, which men will impoſe? I would all Church-Members with your and others knew all *neceſſary* things. Do you believe in your heart that all, or half the Pariſhioners do know theſe things to be lawful, or underſtand any more of them than thoſe that think otherwiſe? when thouſands cannot anſwer a neceſſary queſtion of the Creed or Catechiſm; nor know who Chriſt is, and how he ſaveth us?

Why is there not a Catechiſm made containing the ſound proof that *Lay-Chancellors* power of the Keys, and Dioceſan Biſhops that have no Biſhops under them, and our preſent Court-Church diſcipline, and all the Rubrick, Ceremonies and Forms are lawful, if all muſt be excommunicate that think and ſay otherwiſe?

Obj. *If they are ſo ignorant that they cannot know Church Orders to be lawful, they are not fit to communicate with the Church.*

Anſ. Make no Church Orders neceſſary to Communion, but what Chriſt and his Apoſtles have made neceſſary to it; and

then caſt out and ſpare not all as ignorant that refuſe them.

2. But again, do you believe that moſt, or all that you keep in, are wiſer and more knowing than thoſe that you caſt out? How ſhall ſuch as I believe you, who know that in all the Pariſhes which my cohabitation allowed me to know, it is the moſt knowing and religious part that moſt diſſent, and the generality of the groſly ignorant that underſtand few Articles of the Creed, do conform. As ignorant as I am, and hundreds of my calling and mind, I would I were not only ſilenced and impriſoned, but put to death, on condition that all that you now receive as Members of the Church, had no more ignorance than we have. But it's our lot, to tire our ſelves with teaching poor people to underſtand their Baptiſm, Chriſtianity, Creed, Lords Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and leave moſt ignorant when all's done, and yet our ſelves after our hardeſt and longeſt ſtudy, to be judged ſo ignorant about ſome Indifferent things, as to be unfit for Miniſtry or Communion.

Accuſ. *If men will not obey Church Governours and Laws, they are Rebels, and unfit for Chriſtian Society. If every man ſhall follow his own fancy, what Order will there be? Do not all*

all Churches require obedience to their Orders?

Anſ. 1. The Church hath One Univerſal King, who hath made Univerſal Laws for all; which muſt be firſt obeyed, and againſt which no man hath power. And yet his *own Laws* have things *neceſſary* to all, in which they muſt unite, and *Integrals* and *Accidents* which all know not, in which they muſt bear with one another. No man underſtandeth all the Bible: And are *many Laws* and Books more neceſſary than Gods?

2. Whoever depraveth the neceſſary points of Religion by his own fancies, ſhould be rejected. But all men living err in many leſſer things.

3. In what Countreys is it that your Rule holds, that Rulers muſt be thus far obeyed in Religion? Is it in *China*, or *Pegu*, or *Indoſtan*, or *Turky?* Or is it in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Poland*, *Sileſia*, *Bavaria*, or *France?* Or is it at *Geneva*, *Holland*, or the Presbyterian Countreys? Or is it only in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland?* And was it ſo here before *Henry* the 8th. or only ſince? And how ſhall any know where it is, unleſs he try and judge his Rulers Commands by the Laws of God? Will you follow this Rule in *France* or *Spain?* Or ſhall all Subjects judge of Kings capacities?

Accuſ. *But, they hold unlawful Aſſemblies of their own, and worſhip God contrary to Law, and yield not ſo much as Paſſive Obedience.*

Anſ. 1. You know the Miniſters are forbidden their Office, unleſs they will take thoſe Oaths, Subſcriptions, Profeſſions and Practices, which they dare not take, for fear of ſin and damnation: And they would be thankful if their reaſons may be heard, and if any will inſtruct them better: And they are confirmed in their Opinion by the anſwers, or no anſwers rather, made to the reaſons already given in. And they are devoted or vowed to the ſacred Miniſtry in their Ordination: And if there be ſuch a ſin as *Sacriledge* in the world, they are confident it were *Sacriledge* in them to alienate themſelves from the Office which they have undertaken. As it is *Apoſtacy* from *Chriſtianity* to violate our Baptiſmal Vow, though men ſhould command it, they doubt not but it is *perfidious Apoſtacy* from the *ſacred Miniſtry*, to violate the *Ordination Vow*, though Biſhops ſilence them: As it is *Adultery* to violate the *Conjugal Contract*, though a Biſhop ſhould require it; ſeeing he that married them hath no power to unmarry them, unleſs they do it firſt themſelves, and prove Deſertors or Adulterers.

2. And the people that are excommunicate,

cate, or forbidden to worſhip God publickly, unleſs they will do that which they think is ſin, are ſtill under Gods command to worſhip him, and not to forſake Church-aſſembling for his worſhip. What would you have theſe Miniſters and People do? They ſtudy and pray to God to convince them, if they take theſe Oaths, Subſcriptions, Profeſſions and Practices to be ſin, and they be no ſin: They reſolve to be ruled by Gods Word: They are willing to hear any thing that may better inform them: They wonder that men accuſe them that have no more to ſay to change them. If they deſert the Miniſtry, they fear Gods vengeance: If theſe poor people give over all Gods Publick Worſhip, and live like Atheiſts, Conſcience living or dying will torment them. If they do that which they are perſwaded is ſin, when the Impoſers call it but Indifferent, *Paul* hath antidated their Sentence; *He that doubteth is damned if he eat, becauſe he eateth not of faith: for whatſoever is not of faith is ſin*, *Rom.* 14. Change their Judgment they cannot: ſin they dare not: To give over worſhiping God, is to renounce Salvation: Change the Law or Canon, men will not. It ſeems to me a ſtrange penalty to forbid men to worſhip God at all, becauſe they think ſome Subſcriptions or Forms to be ſin: More ſtrange than to ſay, *All that will not wear Crape ſhall go naked:* Or, *all that will*

not eat Anchovies ſhall eat nothing. If a man think the uſe of a Crucifix in Worſhip ſinful, ſure to give over all Worſhip is more ſinful: But men have their ways.

3. What Worſhip is it that they offer God contrary to Law? They are willing to do all required in Scripture by Chriſt and his Apoſtles: And were they Rebels and Rogues? Or is their Worſhip intolerable?

4. What harm will it do their Neighbours, or any, if they only read the Scripture, and praiſe God with Pſalms, and preach and pray as God preſcribeth, without Subſcriptions or Ceremonies? Are any hurt by this? Doth the ſame Liberty to the Dutch here hurt any body, or break Peace? Doth the difference of Cathedral and Pariſh Worſhip break Peace; or of thoſe Churches that have Organs and Altars, and thoſe that have none?

The Papiſts are the greateſt pretenders to Unity, and moſt cry down Schiſm; and yet if all will but be Servants to the Pope, he will Licenſe multitudes of Orders that more differ from one another than we from you: Jeſuits, Benedictines, Dominicans, Carthuſians, and abundance more.

5. Dare any man of Self-knowledge and Conſcience ſay, that all your Worſhip is not more faulty, than is the omiſſion of a Form or Ceremony? Will not all the world be forbidden to worſhip God, if all as bad

ca-

bad as this be forbidden? And how many worſhippers of God, think you, will be left in *England*, if all muſt give over that have greater faults than the omiſſion of a thing called but Indifferent?

6. As to what you talk of *Paſſive Obedience*, though the phraſe be a contradiction, yet the thing meant is a meer cheat of one that hath deviſed that abſurd phraſe: And calls *Omiſſive Obedience* by the name of *Paſſive*; *Omitting* an Action is not ſuffering. *Daniel* was forbid to pray, and the Apoſtles to preach: They would not yield this *Omiſſive* Obedience, but they yielded that which is commonly called *Paſſive*. They patiently ſuffered.

7. Do you not know that about two hundred thouſand in and near *London* cannot come within the doors of the Pariſh-Churches, (nor hundreds hear that can croud in;) ſhall all theſe be made Atheiſts, or taken for Rebels if they will not forbear to worſhip God?

8. I ſuppoſe you know that many thouſands ſtay at home in their Houſes, Shops, Taverns, in ſin or idleneſs: Are theſe thought worthy of a Jail or Baniſhment? Or is their courſe better than to worſhip God as *Peter* and *Paul* did? O the difference between Gods Judgment and ſome mens! But Gods Judgment ſhall determine all.

9. Are there no unfaithful and unskilful Miniſters?

Miniſters? Will no Patrons chuſe ſuch? Is not the Miniſters skill and faithfulneſs of great importance to mens Salvation? What if Biſhops or Laws impoſed an unskilful or untruſty Phyſician on you, and forbad you to chuſe a better, would you die obediently, or rather ſay, no one hath power ſo to betray my life? No nor your Soul neither.

10. If you have the hearts of Chriſtians conſider this undeniable conſequence: If you will have no union or concord among Chriſtians till they agree in all things that are of no greater weight and evidence, than your forms and ceremonies are, you would have no concord in the world, no not between any two perſons: And you may as well ſay, none ſhall be endured that are not juſt of the ſame viſage and complexion: And then all the doubt will be, who is the man that will be the ſtrongeſt and longeſt liver, to poſſeſs all *England* himſelf alone.

Accuſ. *But they ſhew that they are Perjured, falſe, unconſcionable Rogues, that took on them to ſcruple Oaths and our Church Communion till now, and now can do all rather than be out of places of truſt.*

Anſ. 1. As to your Church communion, can you blind mens eyes, that they ſhall not read, what the old Nonconformiſts have writ-

written to perſwade men to it? See Mr. *Hilderſham*, *Bradſhaw*, *Gifford*, *Paget*, *Ball*, and abundance more. And did not the preſent Nonconformiſts ſhew the ſame judgment 1660 and 1661 in their treaty? And do not many come to your aſſemblies? And would they not all that are Miniſters Preach there if they could have leave? And have you not, as is afore proved, Excommunicated them by your Canons 5, 6, 7, 8. And is the *Oxford* Act (which impriſoneth them all ſix months if they be ſeen within five miles of a Corporation or any place where they have preached within 20 years) an inviſible thing? Do you lay men in Jail by it, and yet think it muſt be unknown? And he that knows it knows that it Sentences all ſuch to Jail if they be ſeen in your Churches? And is it the courſe of humane converſe, to ſay, *If you come into any Church within five miles* &c. *you ſhall lie in Jail ſix months*; *And if you do not, you are Rogues and ſhall lie in Jail for not coming?* Juſt when the Miniſters agreed to come more frequently than before, this act came out, and drove them back. You'll ſay, *They can appear in their own aſſemblies.* *Anſ.* 1. His Majeſty encouraged them by granting them Liberty by his Declaration. 2. They have more hope there of eſcaping out of your hands, than they have in your own Churches.

And do you not ſee in Print what Mr. *Tombes*

Tombes the Anabaptiſt wrote long ago to perſwade his followers to your communion? And what Mr. *Nye* wrote to perſwade the Independants to come to your Churches? what great change is here of their judgments?

Obj. *But why did not the people do ſo all this while?*

Anſ. Becauſe their own Teachers did, as they thought, more profit them. Many a man thinks it lawful to wear rags that yet had rather wear whole and comely cloaths; and lawful to eat brown bread, and drink water, that will fare better when they can, and yet take theſe when they cannot. The people that had good houſes before the fire, did without any change of their judgments, get into any poor rooms or cottages after it.

2. But ſuppoſe they lately change their judgments, (as many no doubt have) you that think it is for the better are ſtrange Chriſtians that reproach men for repenting and amending. Do you call them to Church and reproach them for not coming, and ſeek to ruin them for it, and now accuſe them for coming? Doth not this ſhew that ſome men deſired the preſent Impoſitions, not for concord of all, but to drive ſome away, leſt they ſhould come in, and the land have concord? And doth not this ſhew what men we have to do with; and that it is ſomewhat elſe than non-conformity which ſuch men hate? Your Juſtice is

[*Come to Church, or lie in Jail as Schiſmaticks: And if you come you are perfidious rogues.*] Whether they do or do not, all's one to ſuch judges: who have ſome other hateful matter in their Eye.

Obj. *But their doing it juſt now to keep their Charter, and keep from ſuffering, proveth that they are perfidious Rogues.*

Anſ. 1. I pray tell men of brains and ſenſe, for what it is that you would have men Excommunicated, and laid in Jail or Fined, if they Conform not? Do you do all this without any purpoſe or hope to drive them to conformity? And do you do it only to make them *perfidious Rogues.* If ſuffering may not alter them, why do you uſe it on them?

2. But who knows not that ſome things are lawful to avoid ſuffering which elſe would not be lawful. It is lawful to caſt your goods into the Sea to ſave the Ship and mens lives; Which elſe were a ſin: It's lawful to give a Thief your purſe to ſave your life, which elſe were unlawful: It's lawful to blow up neighbours houſes to ſtop a fire; Chriſt proved it lawful to break the Sabbath in caſes of neceſſity; he withdrew into the Wilderneſs and far from *Jeruſalem*, to avoid the phariſees perſecution. And *Paul* was let down by the Wall in a basket; Which without danger of ſuffering, had not been lawful: Though no ſin muſt be done

to

to avoid ſuffering, yet that may and muſt be done, which ſelf-preſervation makes no ſin, but a duty; To kill a man that aſſaults you in your own defence is not the ſame crime as unneceſſarily to kill him.

But as to the other caſe of taking the Corporation Oath and Declaration, if you know the caſe (as you ſhould do before you accuſe men) you know that it is the true ſence of them that is all the controverſy: No body ſcruples ſwearing Loyalty, and renouncing Rebellion and Sedition, and all unlawful means of reformation: That which makes it difficult is that on one ſide, the proper univerſal ſence of the words ſeems to them unlawful, and Oaths muſt be taken in the uſual ſence, unleſs our Rulers give another, yet on the other ſide, learned, ſober Conformiſts profeſs that they take ſuch words in the limited ſence, or elſe they would not take them; And they argue ſubtilly to prove that to be the true ſence; And our Law-makers to whom it belongs will not end the controverſy by an expoſition. And can you wonder here if men fluctuate in uncertainty? And a late writer having given ſubtiler argumentsfor the limited ſence than were publiſhed before, did perſwade many: And in that limited ſence twenty Nonconformiſt Miniſters took the oath long ago in *London* at one time.

But I juſtify none that miſtake in ſo great

great a matter. And doubtleſs if they ſinned God will not bleſs it to their good; It will prove their ſnare: And I am glad that we are agreed that Perjury is a heinous ſin: I beſeech you then to conſider, 1. Whether thoſe men are fit to accuſe them who drive them to it, and ſay to Miniſters, *Swear or lye in Jail*: 2. Or thoſe who are of the mind of *Grotius*, Biſhop *Taylor* and ſuch others, that Lying is Lawful when it ſaves our ſelves, and wrongs no other: And of thoſe Divines that ſay, It's as lawful to defend my ſelf from pernicious Impoſers with my tongue as with my hands.

3. Let us all with fear (who believe there is a God) avoid the dreadful crime of perjuring the whole land. This whole Kingdom is ſworn againſt all *Forreign Juriſdiction* in the Oath of Supremacy; and againſt all endeavours to *alter the Government of Church or State*, by 1. the Corporation Act, 2. The Veſtry Act, 3. The *Militia* Act, 4. The *Oxford* of Confinement. 5. And obliged by the Act of Uniformity. Is it not perjury than to endeavour any alteration of it? 1. What ſhall we then think of them that would bring in Popery? would they not perjure the Kingdom? 2. What ſhall we ſay of them that write for a Forreign Church Juriſdiction, under the name of General Councils, or a Colledge of Biſhops, or of Forreign Patriarchs, of whom the Pope is chief,

and

and the *Principium unitatis*, to the univerſal Church. Is it no change of our Church Government to bring us under a forreign Juriſdiction? Is it no change of State Government to make the King and Kingdom, Subject to that forreign Juriſdiction, who may excommunicate him, and ſo bring on him all the evil which Excommunication infereth? And what man in his wits knoweth not that Prelates and Prieſts are much at the will and power of the Princes under whom they live? Doth not our King expect that his Biſhops obey him? And thoſe that muſt have this Univerſal Juriſdiction over our King and us, are the Subjects of other Princes, of which the far greateſt part are Papiſts, Mahometans, Infidels, Heathens, or ſuch as are called Hereticks; And if our King and we be made Subject to the Subjects of the Turk, the Pope, the Kings of *Spain*, *France*, *Poland*, the Emperor, the *Moſcovite*, the Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Tuſcany*, and ſuch like, is he not made a Subject to their Lords and Maſters, and much worſe? Will not this project perjure *England*?

3. Whether it be any alteration of Government by them that would change the Power and uſe of Parliaments, I leave to Lawyers.

4. But I would fain be ſatisfied of another caſe. Theſe Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*

land took a Covenant and Vow, ſome Voluntarily, ſome at their Compoſitions, who had been ſequeſtred for the King: This Vow contained divers matters, of which ſome are notorious duties, as to repent of their ſins, to oppoſe Popery, Schiſm, and Prophaneneſs, to defend the King, *&c.* It's not denied by moſt that I meet with, that this Oath or Vow was unlawfully impoſed, and unlawfully taken, and many think ſome of the matter was unlawful, *viz.* to oppoſe Prelacy, *&c.* But ſeeing Caſuiſts are agreed, that an Oath unlawfully both impoſed and taken, bindeth to that part of the *matter* which is lawful and neceſſary, notwithſtanding the Conjunction of the reſt. And the Corporations of *England* are all formed by a Declaration taken by all in power and truſt, that [*There is no Obligation,* (without the leaſt exception) *on me or any other perſon from the Oath called the Solemn League and Covenant*; The doubt is whether every man may declare that, of all the thouſands of three Kingdoms (whom he never knew,) no one is bound by that Oath, or Vow, to repent of his ſins, or in his place and calling to oppoſe Schiſm, Popery, or Prophaneneſs, or to defend the King? and whether all may declare that the *Londoners* and Miniſters, and the reſtored old Parliament, and General *Monks* Army who reſtored the King, as ſuppoſing they were bound to it by that Oath, were

all deceived, and were under no ſuch obligation thence? And whether I am not bound in charity to think that the ſequeſtred Royaliſts put a good ſence on it, when they took it? And ſo whether all the Corporations of *England* are free from —And for what it is that God hath ſingled them out for Judgment?

If you be agreed with us (and with mankind) againſt ſo great a ſin as Perjury, eſpecially national, let us help one another with Love and Patience to reſolve ſuch doubts.

Accuſ. *But they have been guilty of Rebellion in a Civil War, and therefore are juſtly ſuſpected to Preach or hold Rebellious Doctrine.*

Anſ. 1. Are thoſe men lovers of Love and Concord who purpoſely make uſe of pardoned acts to keep the Kingdoms wounds ſtill open? Did not the King tell you in his Declarations and Act of Oblivion, that the putting up of all (ſave to the excepted perſons) and cloſing for the future in mutual love, was the only way to the Nations peace? You would tempt men to think that you deſire to ſee ſuch days again, by trying whether deſtroying men will tempt nature to a ſelf-defence.

2. But you have oft had it proved (by *Henry Fowlis*, Biſhop *Barlow* and abundance more) that no Proteſtants come near the Principles

Principles and Practices of the Papiſts, as to King-killing and Rebellion. And if yet you know not that the War began between two parties of Epiſcopal conformiſts, here among the Engliſh, you are unfit to judge of that which you know not: And by reading *Ruſhworth*, *Whitlock* or any true Hiſtories of ſuch times and matters, you may be better informed: As you may of their different principles if you read *Jewel*, Biſhop *Bilſon*, and *Richard Hooker* on one ſide, and *Mainwarning* and *Sibthorp* on the other.

3. But how few men are alive that had any hand in thoſe miſerable Wars? You have oft been offered a thouſand thanks if you will ſilence and hunt no other that are as innocent as you, and more than many of of their accuſers. And ſhall thouſands ſuffer for other mens deeds? 3. What will wiſe men think of ſuch a ſort of men, as charge multitudes in general with Rebellious and Seditious Doctrine, and have accuſed ſo few of any ſuch theſe twenty years, that I know not of one publickly Accuſed, Tryed and Proved guilty, of all called Presbyterians in all this Land? If they are guilty prove it, and let the guilty ſuffer, and not the innocent: Only had I my wiſh I would Bar Perjury, and Condemning men unheard.

Accuſ. *They are an unpeaceable ſort of people.* *Anſ.* That's ſoon ſaid. Who hath theſe

22 two years manifeſted moſt deſires of Peace? They that have beg'd for it again and again: Pleaded and written for it: Offered their Oaths that they would obey any lawful Commands for it, and do any thing which they did not believe that God forbids? Or thoſe Biſhops that would not have one Form or Ceremony, or needleſs Subſcription forborn, to ſave thouſands of Miniſters from being ſilenced and laid in Common jails, nor to ſave many thouſand of the people from ſuffering, and to heal the diviſions of the Church. One would think this ſhould be as eaſie a Controverſy, as when Soldiers are plundering the Country, and the people on their knees intreating for their goods and lives, to determine which of them is moſt againſt War.

Accuſ. *But what need they make ſuch a ſtir with their Religion: What need they any more than go to Church and live obediently and be quiet? Why will they be righteous over much; will not leſs ado bring men to Heaven? Why do they differ from their Neighbours, and judge all carnal that be not as Scrupulous as they? God is merciful; and will he ſave none but Puritans, or preciſe zealots?*

Anſ. Now you come to the real matter of your diſtaſt: I did not meddle with the caſe of Nonconformity as it is a Controverſy between Godly men, but only as you make

a pretence of it, to exerciſe your enmity againſt ſerious Godlineſs, and a handle to lay hold on many whom Chriſt will juſtify and ſave. To all before ſaid I add,

1. If you think they do too much, ſearch the Scriptures, and ſee whether it be not leſs than God commandeth? And if ſo, is it not God whom you accuſe and reproach?

2. If they do too much in obeying God, why do Canon-makers impoſe ſuch abundance on them, as if God had not impoſed enough?

3. Why do you never find fault with men for being too ſtrong, too healthful, too rich, too great, but only for being too obedient to God? When Chriſt ſaith; If we did all that God commandeth we muſt ſay, we are unprofitable Servants, we have done no more than was our duty, and the beſt on Earth come ſhort of duty. But this which is the Core I anſwered before. And conclude, that all that be in their right wits can eaſilier bear all your accuſations and perſecutions of us, as if we did too much in obedience to God, than the accuſation of Conſcience and the diſpleaſure of God for doing too little: Which alas when we have done our beſt would ſink us into deſpair, had we not the merits of Chriſts ſuffering and perfect righteouſneſs to truſt to.

Chap. V. *An humble Expoſtulation with the Engliſh Papiſts who by Information and Proſecution ſeek our ruine.*

THough it be not Popery as ſuch that I am here reaſoning againſt, the courſe that many Papiſts take in ſeeking our deſtruction, giveth me cauſe of this humble expoſtulation: And I ſpeak now of no other, but of them. I mean, 1. Thoſe that write ſo hotly and ragingly to provoke Superiors to ruine us. 2. Thoſe that make a trade of being delators againſt us for worſhiping God as we do. 3. Thoſe of them that break in upon us with greateſt haughtineſs and fury, to take away all our goods, and ſeek our impriſonment. 4. Thoſe that ſeek to ruine us by thoſe Laws which were made againſt themſelves. 5. Thoſe that would make Superiors believe that our Doctrine is more rebellious than theirs. To theſe I offer a few modeſt queſtions.

Qu. 1. There are ſome among you that profeſs great Spirituality and ſtrictneſs in Religion: *Serenus Creſſy* wrote to me (commending *Baker*'s book which he publiſhed) that he forſook the Church of *England* becauſe he found no Spiritual contemplation and devotion among us. Such as *Nerius*, *Sales*, *Kempis*, *Gerſon Borromæus*, *Renti*, *&c.* are really the chief honour of your Church. Much of that for which I am hated by the Enemies of

ſerious

ſerious godlineſs, I acknowledge to Gods praiſe, I was firſt chiefly awakened to by a book written by one whom *Watſon*, and others of your party grievouſly accuſe, I mean Parſons Book of Reſolution corrected by *Bunny*. True Chriſtianity and Godlineſs is the ſame thing in all that have it. Your Prieſt Mr. *Hutchinſon, alias Berry*, writeth that the moſt of ſerious Godlineſs among Proteſtants is found among thoſe called Puritans: So that I was fain to defend the Conformiſts againſt his charge: All this being ſo, is it the Spirit of God that engageth and enrageth you with the moſt deſtructive bitterneſs againſt thoſe men whom you confeſs to be the moſt Religious, meerly becauſe they are ſtiffeſt againſt your Church Government and way of worſhip? And do you not know that it tendeth more ſenſibly than diſputes, to perſwade the people whom you thus hate and proſecute, that your Religion is malignant, and enmity to real Godlineſs?

Qu. 2. Do you think it is prudent for you, as ſoon as ever you get up and before you dare openly own your name and cauſe, to begin with Malice, Rage and Cruelty, and that againſt the moſt religious (as you ſay?) Will not this perſwade the people that all is true that is ſaid of your intended cruelty, and make them fear you, as ſo many Leopards or Wolves? Will they not ſay, if the young Serpents can ſo eaſily ſting, what will the

old ones do? And if your infancy here begin with such destructive zeal, what will you do when you are at full growth?

Qu. 3. You cannot be ignorant what cause to accuse your Church with Cruelty and Blood, hath been given the world by your Church Laws and Practices: By the Council at the *Laterane* under *Innocent* 3*d* the Council for damning Henrician Hereticks, even Kings that claim Investiture of Bishops, and those that decree the burning of all that you call Hereticks: By the murder of so many thousand *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, *Bohemians*, &c. By the Inquisitions more inhumane cruelties in *Belgium* and *Spain*, &c. By the Massacres in *France*, and the murder of *Henry* III. and IV. By Queen *Maries* flames; By the two hundred thousand murdered in *Ireland*: And there be many among you who disown all this, and say it is not from the principles of your Religion (when yet General Councils approved are your Religion it self.) This being copiously opened (as I said before by *Henry Fowlis*, Bishop *Barlow*, &c.) had it not been more prudent for you to have begun with Lenity and Love, to have drawn men to think that you are better minded, than to perswade them that you are of your rulers and forefathers mind, and mean to imitate them?

Qu. 4. Have you not observed that all parties have faln by forcing multitudes to be their

their enemies by ſeeking to deſtroy or hurt them? Moſt men love quietneſs, and will live in peace, if others will give them leave: But when they ſee that they muſt offend others, or not defend themſelves, it ſets all their wit and power on work againſt their intolerable enemies: There are few creatures in the world that have not ſome power and inclination to hurt others for their own defence. The Bee hath a Sting to defend her Hive and Honey. And do you not remember that your ſufferings in *England* came moſt by Queen *Maries* flames, and the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, and the many Treaſons againſt Queen *Elizabeth* and by the Powder Plot? And how the *French* Maſſacre and Murders of Kings, and the horrid Inquiſition ſet all our Parliaments againſt you? And how the Murder of 200000 in *Ireland* drove many thouſands into the Parliaments Army that elſe would not have gone? And will you yet ſtir up all the Land to fear and hate you?

Qu. 5. Is it not both imprudent and unrighteous for you of all men to turn thoſe Laws againſt us, which were made againſt you, and have ſo much ſlept, and little troubled you? You will by this call people to take notice of them, that did not before. For my own part, as I never hurt any of you, ſo I know not that any of the Miniſters did, whoſe ruine you endeavour. We hear of none of your ſufferings by any ſuch. Indeed

deed theſe late years many have died as for the Plot ſo much talkt of. But by whom did they die? Was it not by the accuſation and witneſs of Papiſts? Were not *Oats*, *Bedlow*, *Dugdale*, *Turbervile*, *Prance*, *Dangerfield*, *Feniſon*, *Smith*, *alias Barry*, the York-ſhire Witneſſes, and the reſt beſides the Iriſh, all men of your ſelves, that came out of your own Boſoms? whether the men died juſtly or unjuſtly I leave to God; But ſure it was men of your own ſelves that did it. And will you be revenged for this on ſuch Proteſtants that medled not in it?

And you ſhould remember that you and we have a Proteſtant King, who hath ſworn all his Kingdom againſt all forreign juriſdiction, and all endeavour of any alteration of Government in Church or ſtate, and ſo much abhors Popery that he hath made a law ſeverely to puniſh all that ſhall but raiſe any ſuſpicion that he is a Papiſt. And you muſt in reaſon take heed of diſhonouring and defaming him, by defaming Proteſtants in general.

And ſure ſince Queen *Elizabeths* days we have had no Kings whom you can juſtly accuſe of cruelty towards you. No not King *James* when the Powder Plot had provoked him; if half be true that the Biſhop of *Ambrun* ſaith of his conference with him, or that *Ruſhworth* and others ſay of the Oath of the King, Prince and Council for Toleration,

you

you are disingenuous if you accuse them of cruelty or rigorous severity.

In your *Philanax Anglicus* (as formerly in the *Image of both Churches*) you make all called *Protestants* of *sincerity*, to be of Rebellious principles, and their Religion introduced by it; and yet profess that you honour the King, as if you would have men doubt whether he be a *Protestant* of *sincerity*, or else were as bad as you describe. Had the severe Laws been executed against you, especially for meer Religion, no one could wonder if you desired relief: But while you live quietly, and Words and Paper hurt you not (that I hear of) to begin with so much hurtfulness to them that medled not with you, will disserve your cause.

Qu. 6. And is it consistent with reasonable modesty to go about to make the World believe that the Protestant Doctrine is less loyal than yours? Do you think your Books are invisible, & all your practices forgotten: It is none of the business of this writing to accuse you herein, of any thing but falsly accusing others, and seeking to destroy us on such accusation. Though you may thus deceive the ignorant that know no more of you than what you tell them, that will but turn to your dishonour at last. Are not your foresaid Council Canons which are your Religion, visible? Have not the forecited writers truly cited them and multitudes of

your

your Doctors which may better inform men? Are all the Wars of *Italy*, *Germany*, &c. against Princes and Emperors, for the Pope, forgotten? Was it not a Council of your Bishops that decreed that all the carcasses of those Bishops that were for the *Henrician* Heresy (that is, for the Emperors power of investing Bishops and his exemption from being excommunicated and deposed by the Pope) should be digged out of their Graves, and Burnt? Was it not a council that deposed *Ludovicus Pius*? How many more such acts have they done? And are not your most learned Doctors allowed to publish the justification of the Popes power to excommunicate & depose Kings if they deserve it (in his judgment?) Do not your politick Writers, Casuists and Divines ordinarily hold that the people give Kings, their power, and may take it away when they forfeit it, and that tyranny is such a forfeiture? And that the people should not suffer a Heretick to reign? And that subjects may be absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, according to the foresaid *Laterane* and *Greg.*7. Roman Councils? But too much is said of this by many, and the case is past a modest denial.

Even those Protestants that were in Arms for the Parliament, and restored the King, were so far from thinking that their Oaths of Allegiance may be dispensed with, that if I knew any thing of those men and times, it was

was principally the Conſcience of two Oaths (the Oath of Allegeance, and the Oath called the Covenant) that by them overcame the oppoſition of the other Army, and brought home the King. It was this that engaged the Miniſters of *England* againſt both *Cromwel* and a Common-wealth: and the Miniſters were followed by moſt of the religious people of the land, which broke the adverſaries ſtrength: It was this that engaged the excluded members of the (then) long Parliament: It was this that engaged the City of *London:* It ſeems it was this that engaged Gen. *Monk's* Army, when they ſay in their addreſs to him, (ſee it, in *Englands Triumph* for K. *Charles* the 2d *p.*85.) [" *We hope to evince to his Majeſty* " *and all the world, that we and all thoſe that* " *have been engaged in the Parliaments cauſe,* " *are his Majeſties beſt and moſt real ſubjects;* " *and that your Excellency and the Armies un-* " *der your command, have complied with the ob-* " *ligations for which they were firſt raiſed, for* " *the preſervation of the true Proteſtant Religi-* " *on, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the* " *Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty and Pro-* " *perty of the Subjects, and the Fundamental* " *Laws of the land.*]

I am not juſtifying all that I recite; I doubt not but they were much miſtaken. But if they had then been told that ſhortly *all the Corporation Offices* and *Truſts* in *England* ſhall be conſtituted by a perſonal Declaration of every

every one, that [*There is no obligation on any perſon from the Oath called the Solemn Covenant*] to reſtore the King, oppoſe Schiſm, or to any thing whatever, the effect would have been ſuch, as makes me wonder that the Royaliſts (as then called) ſhould be very eager to make all ſuch declare, that all theſe Souldiers, Miniſters, Parliament and Citizens that reſtored the King as bound to it by that Oath, were therein miſtaken, and no ſuch obligation thence was on them.

Qu. 7. I need not name to you the ſorry fellows out of the Jails, where they lay for inhuman villanies that have been our zealous, ranting, tearing, proſecuters? And do you think ſuch actors are an honour to your cauſe? If it be good, uſe good men in it.

Qu. 8. Why do you play your game under board, and behind the Curtain? If you are not aſhamed of your cauſe, openly own it. Is falſhood, lying and diſſembling beſeeming them that ſay they are of a Church out of which none can be ſaved? I remember when *Terret, alias Johnſon*, had ſeduced the eldeſt Daughter of the Counteſs of *Balcarres* (whom they ſtole away and made a Nun in *France*), and ſhe was after askt, why ſhe did ſo long go to our Churches, join in family worſhip, read Proteſtant Books, and talk againſt the Papiſts, and deride them, after ſhe was a Papiſt her ſelf, ſhe anſwered that they had leave to do all that as long as they did not openly

profeſs

Profeſs their Religion,and were not detected. But when once they were diſcovered and openly profeſſed themſelves Roman Catholicks, they muſt then ſuffer any thing rather than conform to us.

Gods cauſe needeth not ſuch jugling and lying.

Qu. 9. Why do you not ingenuouſly plead your cauſe againſt us, ſo as may ſatisfy an underſtanding Conſcience,before you ſeek our deſtruction? 1. Your arguings are commonly fitted only to cheat the ignorant by ambiguities,and confuſion,and equivocal terms; Your queries or methods to the French ſufferers, are only a formed cheat,by confounding, 1. Subjection to Governours,and Communion with neighbour Churches. 2. Communion with your Church in Chriſtianity and Communion with its ſins. 3. A Catholick Church informed only by the ſoveraignty of Chriſt, and a pretended univerſal Church informed by the ſoveraignty of Man (a Monarch or a Church-Parliament.) 4. The office of keeping, delivering and teaching men Gods Laws,and an abſolute power to Judge of their ſence, and to make more as a ſupplement to their defects, obliging all the world on pain of Excommunication and Death: And more ſuch.

2. Any writings which undeniably open your frauds,you take no notice of,nor vouchſafe to anſwer upon the importunity of Mr. *Johnſon*,

Johnſon, and divers others; I have lately written; 1. A reply to *Johnſon*. 2. A ſmall book in anſwer to one of your Papers, to *prove that we have a certainty of Chriſtianity without Popery*.

3. In anſwer to another, a ſmall Book called, *Full and Eaſy ſatisfaction which is the true Religion*. None of them will you anſwer, nor thoſe before written: But inſtead of a ſober inveſtigation of the truth, ſome of you raiſe odious ſlanders of my life, and threaten and ſeek my deſtruction. I never hurt any of you, as I ſaid before, nor ever perſwaded any to ſeverity againſt you. I have long ago publickly propoſed terms on which we might live together as neighbours in peace. But deſtruction and miſery are in your way (that I have obſerved) and the way of peace you have not known.

There are three things which alienate common Chriſtians from you more than all other diſputes. 1. That you can go ſo openly againſt the plaineſt words of God (as in blotting out the Second Commandment, in notorious contradicting 1 *Cor.* 12. and *Rom.* 14, and 15. about the terms of Church Union and Communion; about Latin Prayers and Worſhip to the ignorant, denying the Cup to the Laity, denying ſenſe in Tranſubſtantiation).

2. That you befriend Ignorance ſo much, by the ſaid Latin Worſhip, forbidding moſt

to

to read the Scripture tranſlated, and accuſe Gods Spirit of writing obſcurely, to cover this.

3. That your Religion liveth by cruelty and blood, and cannot ſtand without it: Which at leaſt in prudence you ſhould hide as long as you can; Or at leaſt not deſign to make the ignorant and vicious Proteſtants, your Proſelytes and Agents conjunctly to ruin thoſe whom your Conſciences know to be the moſt Conſciencious and ſeriouſly religious.

By which already the flock of Chriſt do (under your Sheeps cloathings) ſo judge of you by your fruites, that if any man that is called a Proteſtant Clergy-man, do but Write and Preach for cruelty and ruin towards ſerious Conſcionable Chriſtians, people by this very mark do preſently ſuſpect that he is either a Papiſt or ſo near them as that he is ready to paſs over to them, whom he ſo aſſiſteth in deſtructive work.

Qu. What muſt be the cure of Malignity?

Anſ. When the heel of the holy ſeed is ſufficiently bruiſed, the Serpents Head muſt be broken. 1. The War in Heaven which formerly caſt down the Dragon, muſt break the ſupream Serpentine Head. II. Then his Heads military on Earth will be broken. I. The uſurping univerſal Head called Eccleſiaſtical: II. The national Serpentine

Heads. I. Exterior; Mahometan and Heathen. II. Interior; called falſly Chriſtian: I. Serpentine Monarchs, that War againſt Chriſt. II. Serpentine Prelates and their Patrons, that fight againſt Chriſt as in his own name, and by his pretended commiſſion.

And all this by Chriſt, and not by ſinful means.

Reformation is begun *à Minoritis* at the loweſt, for perſonal Salvation of the Elect: But a *Majoritis*, at the *Heads* for publick welfare: And God muſt raiſe Reforming Princes and Paſtors to that end.

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